5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

581 account, the meeting ruled that the cause of the marriage breakdown was the
586 husband's refusal to allow her to enter his garden. The attempted seduction, the
627 adultery, the escapades to Port Moresby, the violent words and acts that had characterised the marriage over the years were all declared to be blameworthy, but the most serious of the offences was the husband's act in denying his wife entry to the taro garden. This signified the breaking off of the basic exchange relation in a marriage whereby the man clears the garden, the wife harvests the taro, and cooks it, and the husband and wife both eat it. I was told that when this exchange relation is broken, the marriage itself breaks down.

Why it is the taro garden where exchange between husband and wife is so important will be discussed in Chapter VI. I am concerned here to show that in tracing the cause of a marriage breakdown, what the Orokaiva seem to be looking for is evidence of a breakdown in the area of gift exchange. As long as the husband still gives his wife taro, there may be considerable difficulties between them, but these are not *defined* as a breakdown in Orokaiva culture unless there is a breakdown in Obligatory exchange.

578 Another such case was that of a man who took sides in a quarrel between his
837 brother and another man who had been trying to rape, i.e. seduce by force, that
571 brother's wife. I thought that the village generally would be on the brother's side, as rape is disapproved of, but almost everyone took the side of the rapist and the man who took the side of his brother had to leave the village. The man who was expelled had a long history of trouble making. During my stay he had been involved in every fight except those between husbands and wives. He had also committed rape, his victim being a prohibited partner under the incest rules. His trouble was, so I was told, that no woman wanted him. I asked my informants why this was. The reason was that he had been married previously, he had maltreated his wife and she had run away. Now nobody would help him.

[583] And why would nobody help him? Well, brideprice had been paid for his first
[581] wife; it had been lost through his fault, and that was the 'real' reason why nobody supported him in the quarrel. Here again we notice that the cause of the trouble was the breakdown of an exchange cycle. When a man has been helped in paying brideprice he has an obligation towards his clansmen to hold his wife, raise a family and be a support for the others. He must manage the relationship with his own affines properly and make them into valuable exchange partners.

829 In both instances a basic exchange cycle had been broken and that was
431 thought to constitute the essence of the relationship. In the first case this was the
436 exchange between man and woman in making their own contributions and deriving their own benefits in the taro garden – a cycle of exchange which parallels the cultivation cycle of the taro itself. In the second case it was the exchange between clansmen which is complete only when the man who received the brideprice provides recruits for the clan, as well as a steady new affinal alliance. It does not concern me here whether psychologists would, in such cases, accept the exchange breakdown as the real cause of the social breakdown; I have illustrated that the Orokaiva view social breakdowns in this manner.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

773 776 574 Totoima's body, from which all derive their *ivo*. The feast seems to be the occasion *par excellence*, at which the primeval communion is re-enacted. This is, of course, a point that needs careful empirical demonstration, which will be given in Chapter VII. All I wish to suggest at this stage is the existence of at least one ritual device whereby the state of permanent *isoro* between social groups can be overcome, the re-enactment of a communion for which the Totoima myth provides the mythological charter. Such a communion may be brought about only by a long series of economic and ritual preparations, such as a feast requires; there must be an abundance of taro and of pig, there must be feathers and ornaments, new loincloths, musical instruments and guests willing to share in the communion. Above all, there must be skilful magic. Even then, the success of a feast is never predictable, and always hangs in the balance. Thus the communion between social groups, in this philosophy always remains problematic but, for various practical reasons (the need for alliances in a world at [829] war) it is frequently attempted. The social philosophy of the Orokaiva, then, starts from the assumption of the gulf that yawns between man and man, and proceeds to delineate various techniques (of which the feast is one) to bridge it.

571 431 829 [574] We are now able to see more clearly why among the Orokaiva social exchange is rarely effective unless prestations of economic value are exchanged between partners to mutual satisfaction. Relations between social groups are generally unsatisfactory and hostile, but they can be made harmonious if one side gives the other a feast, which the other side must reciprocate. The harmony thus established is an extraordinary state which is sure to be interrupted by subsequent conflicts, so that feasts must be held periodically to keep group relationships within the bounds of amity.

Relationships between individuals follow the same pattern, though gift exchange here takes the place of the larger and more formal feasts. If no presents pass between two individuals for some time, this is thought to signify a breakdown of amity and the gradual re-establishment of the *natural* hostility between man and man. Only gift exchange prevents Orokaiva society from presenting the perfect living model of Hobbes' war between all and all. It is largely for this reason that I have chosen gift exchange as the basic principle in my analysis of Orokaiva society.[2]

3. *Towards a Model of Exchange*

121 The feasting myth quoted in the previous section seems to me to embody the essence of Orokaiva social philosophy, in as far as it explains the basic nature of gift exchange relations. My next task will be to translate this myth into the more abstract language of social science, as must be done if its ideas are to be made part of anthropological discourse.

628 574 578 A feast tends to be held by two social groups between whom relations have turned somewhat sour. There may have been a war, or a murder, or some other grievous act of violence or there may have been no more than minor friction between them. One side may suspect that the other performed black magic against them. Generally speaking, however, by the premises of Orokaiva social philosophy, both sides will have been storing up some grievances against the other. Often neither side will be willing to admit to the major responsibility for

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

the ill feeling that has built up; usually any attempt to assign guilt would lead only to further conflict, as the record is too tangled to be satisfactorily sorted out. The party which decides to hold the feast and to invite the other side may or may not admit that it regards itself as guilty, and that it owes the other side a debt. The past is simply set aside and the host acts as though the feast is a free gift, an expression of disinterested love and generosity. The guest at the feast accepts the same fiction.

Accordingly, if we regard a feast as an occasion for social exchange, as the Orokaiva undoubtedly do, the basic objects of exchange are repentance and forgiveness. Sometimes a few words are exchanged between host and guest to express this notion of forgiving and forgetting, though I do not suppose this is invariably the case. On one occasion I invited a man to have a feast with me, after some months during which he had been acting unpleasantly towards me for reasons I did not quite understand. I must have unwittingly offended him. After the meal he said: 'I did not really know you before now.' This implied that he was willing to forgive and forget whatever had previously annoyed him. At the same time, the fact of my inviting him indicated that I was sorry for whatever I had done wrong. What we were really exchanging was a willingness to change our attitudes to each other, which involved some effort for both of us. Whether this is, in practice, done genuinely or only ritually does not concern me here as I am discussing feasts from the viewpoint of Orokaiva collective representations. When two groups feast together, each has the obligation to feel sorry for any offence he has caused and to forgive any offence caused by the other side. It is only thus that the feast can interrupt the inherent enmity between man and man. Through the sharing of meat the two sides re-enact the communion existing in primordial times when men, as brothers, shared the body of Totoima.

An essential part of any feast is that the host should offer meat to his guest. But it is a total misapprehension of Orokaiva social philosophy to believe that it is the meat that is being exchanged for forgiveness. If that were so, it would not be essential for the two parties to consume it together. Certainly, if I have offended another person, I may make him a gift of meat in reparation. This is often done. But the reconciliation between the parties is not effected by such a gift alone. There must in addition be commensality (the common eating of taro) and communion (the common eating of meat). The meat used in such a communion is not an object of exchange. It is better described as a mediating element which makes possible the actual transaction (i.e. the exchange of repentance and forgiveness). Orokaiva are quite definite that there can be no true repentance and forgiveness between men unless meat is consumed between them. One may therefore regard meat as a *necessary* mediating element in this transaction.

Perhaps the most useful insight to be derived from Orokaiva social philosophy is that the natural form of a social relationship is cyclical and moves regularly from hostility to reconciliation and back to hostility. In other words, the Orokaiva do not see the model of a friendship, as do Westerners, in the form of a perpetual harmony, so that every conflict that arises is regarded as a deviation from the model. On the contrary, Orokaiva consider conflict as intrinsic to the model. This is true also in the discussion of quite intimate relationships: father and son, husband and wife, and so on. The perfect relationship is not one where

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

ground, and with harvesting, which he may not do. Upon marriage, the new wife is usually expected to garden on her husband's land. There is a fiction that, at the time of marriage, she 'does not know' the work she is expected to do on the land of her new affines. Her mother-in-law has to instruct her and it is only after such an apprenticeship that her husband's people consider her competent to tend taro on their land, harvest it and offer it to visitors in proper style. She would usually have been trained in these tasks by the women of her own clan, but the subtleties of family traditions differ.

As against these male and female obligations, we may note some clearcut rights: the man's right to his wife's labour and the wife's equally important right of unlimited access to the husband's garden land and to its produce. This right extends not only to harvesting food for the household, but also for gifts she may choose to make outside the household, providing that she manages the food supply so as to avoid shortages. A domestic dispute I observed in Sivepe (referred to in Chapter III above) illustrates the importance attached to this married woman's right. When this dispute was adjudicated, the 'explanation' of the breakdown of the marriage was found in a single incident, namely the husband's instruction to his wife not to go to his garden again. Here, in the view of everyone present, lay the 'root' of the trouble, a judgement with which the husband was willing to agree. This prohibition to go to his garden is one of the few things a husband is on no account to utter to his wife; it amounts to total repudiation of the conjugal relationship.

This brief discussion of social practices has already indicated that a garden plot is a gift made by a man to a woman, while the productiveness of the land is a gift from a woman to a man (because a man can neither plant nor harvest). Let us now consider to what extent the nature of these gifts may be clarified in the light of rituals, myths and indigenous explanations. It will be best to begin with some legal ideas about land. As has been pointed out by Salisbury (1962: 67ff.) among others, several sets of rights arise with respect to any one piece of land: rights of the village, of the clan, of the lineage, and of the 'father of the ground' or trustee. It is the last-mentioned person who assigns a piece of land (*enda*) to a cultivator for the purpose of making a garden (*pure*). The cultivator to whom land may be assigned may be either male or female. Among the Orokaiva it is common for women to have land assigned to them for cultivation in their own right, even though most land is assigned to males. They receive this land mostly from a father or brother, sometimes from their mother. When a woman wishes to have a garden established on her land, she (voluntarily) transfers the land to her husband or another male on a temporary basis so that he can carry out the crucial male tasks without which the garden cannot be made. These tasks are ritual as well as productive. It is common for the men of a clan to hold a feast together and to kill a pig from which they eat and obtain strength (*ivo*), before clearing new ground. The fertility of the soil depends greatly on getting a good burn after clearing, and a good burn depends on climatic conditions that can never be wholly predicted. I was unable to find out much about the ritual connected with clearing but gather it had to do with control over the sun and the rain. Another magical danger that arises in new gardens comes from the ghosts (*sovai*) lurking in the reverted gardens or bush that is being cleared. The garden thus established is the gift made by the man to the woman; the *pure* is

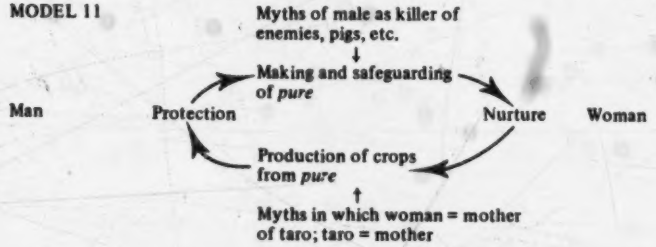
S: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

felt to be a feminine thing. In the myths it is the mother who buries the taro shoots (her children) and covers them with leaves and earth which are equated with her body. I shall show this in more detail in the next chapter.

In Williams' report on the division of labour, planting is shown as a female task, whereas the time studies of Waddell and Krinks suggest that the activity is actually shared by the couple. There is no real contradiction here, nor much evidence of change, as the man's task is to pound holes into the soil with his digging stick whereas the woman does the actual planting, or burying (*kovari*) of the seed.

Unless the normal rules are suspended, as happens at feasting time, men do not harvest taro or other products of the *pure* where taro is planted. (The rules are different for the yam garden as we shall see later.) The explanation that is given of this rule is that only the women know how to harvest crops to best advantage, i.e. at the right time and in the right quantities. If men harvested, the supply would never last through the lean season. The woman is responsible for nurture, in the widest sense. It is her task every day to bring home garden food in the large string bag suspended from her head. Contrary to what white observers have sometimes believed, this is not a symbol of female slavery, but rather of female power and it is done proudly. When my wife started to bring home produce from our own garden in Sivepe (in a different kind of bag), the women crowded round excitedly and congratulated her. The food gifts that are constantly sent from one household to another may be, at least partly, regarded as a display by the women of their own success. The products of the taro garden (though not the yam garden) may ultimately be regarded as a gift from women to men. We may summarise the total transaction as follows:

MODEL 11


Myths of male as killer of enemies, pigs, etc.
Making and safeguarding of *pure*
Man
Protection
Nurture
Woman
Production of crops from *pure*
Myths in which woman = mother of taro; taro = mother

On the basis of such a model, what precisely is the nature of 'rights' in land enjoyed by husbands and wives? A simple analogy would be a jointly owned machine of which one party controls all the bolts and the other controls all the nuts. The assets of neither party have any value independently of the other. Value can be created only by the co-operative *action* of screwing together bolts and nuts. Land transactions between Orokaiva husbands and wives are similarly a sequence of cumulative co-operative actions, such that each move by one party calls forth an appropriate response. The only 'rights' are 'rights' to responses once certain moves have been made. Legal disputes can in practice arise only if

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

one party fails to make the required response. It creates a wrong impression to speak of land being 'vested' in a man if all he has (independently of some woman) is a cleared patch of ground on which nothing grows; nor is the woman in a better position as she cannot (independently) bring any crop to maturity as she needs the man's garden magic. As we shall see below, 'rights' in all Orokaiva land transactions are limited in some way similar to this.

3. *Land Transactions between Men and Spirits*

A second basic transaction mediated by the land is that between the soul of a recently deceased person and a new-born infant. The Orokaiva believe in transmigration of souls. But this transmigration occurs through the mediation of the piece of land where the spirit of the dead person has taken up special residence. This is usually the garden he or she was cultivating at the time of death. It is a fact of Orokaiva life that old people do not stop gardening as long as they have any strength left in their bodies. Waddell's study of time allocation in Sivepe showed that after the age of fifty-five, time spent on productive subsistence activity, especially in the garden, declined only slightly, whereas non-productive activity (e.g. social obligations, dealings with external agencies) declined very sharply (1968: 104). Old people devote their reduced energies almost exclusively to their gardens, grow progressively closer to their gardens and away from the social network, until finally, after death, their spirit becomes still more closely attached to the land. Their souls re-enter association with the village through transmigration.

Crops from the garden cultivated by the deceased may not be eaten by any member of the deceased's lineage. They are harvested by the heir and given away by him to persons outside the lineage. No *bere* are taken from these crops. After a suitable period of fallow, the garden is replanted, but even then the land is not thought to be free of the deceased's spirit. Very often the son or brother of the deceased plants the garden and uses the produce to give a feast. It is thought that the spirit presents no danger to food grown in that plot afterwards.

Transmigration is affected by a ritual performed shortly after the birth of an infant. The parents take the child to the land where the spirit of the deceased is believed to reside. They seek the spirit by placing leaves of a fragrant plant called *mo* in a creek which runs through the land. When the spirit is thought to have entered the leaves, the parents address it thus: 'You are dead now. We shall look after the land and we shall look after the baby so it will become big and strong. Then this child will look after the land.' The wife, in preparation for this rite, has brought the baby to the garden in a string bag, and has also brought a stick. When she arrives in the garden, she places the stick in the ground and hangs the baby in its string bag from the stick. After the ritual by the water, she drops some of the leaves by the stick, then takes the baby, the bag and the rest of the leaves and returns home with her husband. The custom is for the husband to say at night: 'I hear the baby crying.' He is expected to go back to the garden and talk to the baby that is believed to be in the stick, telling it that the parents will now look after it and there is no need to cry. He should then take the stick, with the 'baby' inside it, to his home.

The significance of this ritual became a little clearer to me through the case of

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

596 In any case, there are no strong economic or political reasons to prevent the splitting of the patrimony. Nor are there religious reasons, because every married 428 male is fully competent to carry out ritual in the garden he is cultivating. The [775] Orokaiva do not have primogeniture in the sense intended by Raglan (1963:100); it is not in the *enda mama* that the spirits of the ancestors are reincarnated, but in all the individuals of the extended family. The *enda mama*, therefore, is not the sole channel of charisma, but rather a kind of revered manager. He usually contrives to keep the patrimony together through the respect and obedience that is due, in Orokaiva custom, to a father and elder brother. I know of several instances where this authority was challenged and found that, in practice, the sons of younger brothers were not cut out of the patrimony, but their share was cut out and the relationship was severed.

596 Informants were all agreed that at any time either the *enda mama* or the ● 598 junior member of a land-holding corporation may opt out of the relationship: 593 such a separation involves, first of all, the breaking down of a social relationship in which protection is exchanged for deference and obedience. Therefore such a breakdown involves a high cost for both partners. When I inquired into some breakdowns that actually happened at Sivepe, I was given two kinds of explanation: (*a*) the senior partner broke off the relationship because he was not obeyed; (*b*) the junior partner broke off the relationship because the senior 'did not look after the land properly'. The first kind of explanation suggests that the elder partner, not receiving obedience, no longer received any rewards from the relationship and therefore terminated it. The second kind of explanation is more obscure as I never could find out just *how* the seniors had failed to protect the land. I gather there had been bad harvests, that the juniors thought something was wrong with the land, or that the senior had done something to provoke sorcery which endangered all the land of his lineage. Whatever the details, the juniors felt that the cost of deference to their elder brother was no longer warranted, in view of the amount of 'protection' they received. There was no fear, in any of these cases, that such a separation would be followed by retribution, physical, magical or supernatural. As I showed in Chapter III, the Orokaiva accepts fraternal strife as a natural consequence of events in primal time.

596 When such separations occur within a three-generation extended family, they 613 are regarded by the community as (minor) misfortunes. On the other hand, they 423 are regarded as normal when they occur between first cousins in a four- or 571 five-generation lineage. Implicit in such judgements is a notion that there is a lower and an upper limit to the useful size of corporate groups. The young man who loses land rights because he has nobody to 'speak for him', obviously needs incorporation in a group. The secure man in middle age who has his land interests cut out of the control of the *enda mama* obviously feels that the useful upper limit of the corporate group has been exceeded. We may express the transactions at the lower and upper limit of the useful size of groups in the following exchange cycles:

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

574 successfully cultivated that land, and at the same time no doubt with *dema*
782 figures who instituted agriculture. But most sacrifices have to do with social
431 relations that are either being entered into or that are being restored after a
437 period of hostility. In all such cases the sacrificed pig serves as a gift object to
[572] the persons whose friendship is being sought. These persons may be clansmen, uterine kin, affines, bond-friends, trading partners, or persons who have rendered important ritual services.

578 An exhaustive list of examples of such sacrifices, very often involving only
431 one pig and a rather minor ceremony, cannot be given. If a person has broken
571 off social relations with a close relative in anger, by showing this relative his
825 plant emblem, then relations can be restored only if the angry man is persuaded
[824] to 'throw his plant emblem away'. If he does this, the person to whom the plant emblem has been shown will sacrifice a pig. Again, if a man feels that he has neglected a fellow clansman for an unduly long time, he will end the estrangement by offering up a pig. A pig may be sacrificed to mark any reconciliation after a quarrel. The sacrificer in such a case appears to admit his
[754] own guilt and to restore a wrong done to the other person. Very often such a reconciliation follows a misfortune attributed to sorcery. The medicine man will determine, if the sufferer does not already know, who has caused the sorcery to be performed. It is then considered highly important to arrange a reconciliation with the person responsible for the sorcery. This person is not infrequently a close relative, such as a father's sister or mother's sister. The sufferer will offer up a pig if the dangerous relative is willing to forgive and forget. Sacrifices are also required when a person has violated a taboo, e.g. quarrelled in the presence of a cross-cousin or affine. In all such cases a feast will be held at which the wronged person receives the sacrificial beast.

The same pattern may be found in the larger ceremonies. I shall show in a later chapter that the various prestations rendered between affines can be viewed as propitiatory gifts made to allay anger at the wrong done by the other party. This is certainly true for the gifts made on various occasions by the husband, the
628 husband's sister, etc. to the wife's relatives. Feasts given on the occasion of
728 peace-making, or on other occasions where whole villages are invited can likewise
574 be shown to have as their prime purpose the ending of strife. In all such cases the sacrifice of pigs is preliminary to their utilisation for the mediation of social exchange.

This pattern does not appear quite consistent with the communion model of sacrifice. Not only is there no rule that the offerers of the sacrifice should eat of the victim; on the contrary, we shall see that they are strictly forbidden to eat of it. The guests carry all the meat away with them and distribute it among their own group. One almost feels that the expiatory model might be applicable: the offerers of the sacrifice define themselves as offenders, they expiate their wrong-doing by sacrifice, the flesh of the victim becomes taboo to them.

782 The contradiction disappears if we regard communion with the god not
571 purely as the ultimate end of sacrifice but also (and simultaneously) as the
574 means to the mediation of a social relationship. I am suggesting that the Orokaiva believe that the killing and offering of a pig is not *in itself* sufficient to
431 initiate or restore a social relationship: it is also necessary to make the offering in a properly ritual manner. The ritual involves the establishment of communion

S: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

574 could not help noticing the connection between the reconciliation and the
628 simultaneous fear of sorcery to which I have already referred. But perhaps
neither historical explanation is necessary.

721 It seems clear from Williams' evidence and from the little I could reconstruct
728 in 1966 that Orokaiva history had been one long sequence of hostilities and reconciliations. The reasons for the reconciliations were various: the legalising of marriages after abductions, the expediency of forming alliances with old enemies when faced with the threat of new enemies, a desire for peace after some Pyrrhic victories, and so on. On the level of myth we find the same message: the permanent state of *isoro* was interrupted by periodic feasts (see model 1).[A] The series starts, according to myth, with a state of primordial peace. This is followed by *isoro, peka, isoro* in permanent alternation. We may represent the total pattern by the series of congruent ellipses drawn on parallel planes directly above one another (see Model 27).

I have presented transactions in historical time by a series of four transactions, the first and last of which are purely exchanges of penalties. Cycle 2 represents an agreement between two opponents to cease warfare and make peace (*peka*). This cycle would normally start with a message, sent by the original aggressor, that he is ready to make amends. This message would be followed by a visit from the other party to the aggressor, when the latter would promise to hold a feast. A customary practice at such a meeting was for the aggressor to plant a cordiline (*poponda*) in evidence of this promise. The aggressor would then arrange a pig sacrifice.

Cycle 3 would be marked by peace (*peka*). The victim of the original aggression would give a return feast which was probably obligatory. If the basic end of pig sacrifice were communion or expiation, no return feast would be necessary, but as we have found the basic end to be the establishment or restoration of social relations, on a basis of equality, there must be a balance of prestations. Each side must sacrifice pigs; each side must dance for the other; each side must dispel black magic from the gardens of the other. Each side must expiate past offences and each side must extend forgiveness. But the model shows that such reconciliation is not expected to be more than temporary although, of course, friendship between villages can sometimes be maintained for protracted periods and there is no rule against holding feasts before a quarrel has reached deadly proportions.

571 The model applies not only to inter-village relations but to all social relations
602 in general, consanguineal and affinal relations included. Quarrels between
578 consanguines differ only in their relatively greater reluctance to resort to an exchange of penalties and greater readiness to settle a quarrel before it has gone
754 too far. But here a great deal is said to depend on the type of kin relationship holding between the quarrelling parties. A father or mother will rarely use sorcery or other harmful measures against his or her children. Certainly they will not do so until they have, in the course of the quarrel, broken off social relations by showing their plant emblem. Usually a quarrel does not go beyond the breaking off of relations, but if further unpleasantness should occur and if the person who has caused anger is experiencing some misfortune, sorcery will at once be suspected. The same is true in case of conflict with the father's or the mother's brother, though the showing of the plant emblem does not, in such

A [See Category 574, p. 58—Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 158]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

571 602 ●518 754 conflict, necessarily precede recourse to sorcery. It is believed, however, that such relatives will not usually carry their resentment too far. As soon as the afflicted person makes his apologies and shows himself ready to make a pig sacrifice, such sorcery will normally cease. The same applies to the father's sister, though she has to be watched more carefully than the others, as she is very quick to resent neglect and seek retribution. She will be restrained, however, by the deep love she is expected to bear for her brother, so that she may be expected to agree fairly easily to a settlement. It is thought that mother's sisters are more dangerous as their bonds of family loyalty are much weaker. All these relatives [431] may cause disease, failure of gardens, bad luck in hunting, etc. All the relationships give rise to the same type of positive and negative reciprocity cycles: if proper prestations are made from time to time, positive reciprocity is maintained, but neglect over a long period will create anger and a negative reciprocity cycle.[5]

In the case of certain close relationships, restraint in acts of negative reciprocity does not arise from any rules limiting the expression of anger, but rather from the existence of other close social relationships which would be threatened if the expression of anger went too far. Thus a mother's brother would be restrained in wreaking revenge upon his nephew by the risk of offending his sister if the revenge were excessive. It is hard to illustrate these principles of exchange with concrete evidence, as I do not know of any actual harm being done between relatives. I know only that misfortunes which I would ascribe to natural causes tend to be explained by sorcery on the part of a neglected relative, and that the neglected relative then asks for or receives a pig or other animal.

571 578 602 583 Prestations between affines have a similar explanation, though the pattern of hostile action and retaliation between affines is somewhat different. The first hostile action in the series tends to be the abduction of a woman for purposes of marriage. This is defined as a hostile act directed against the woman's kin group. The girl's parents look for her and show considerable fury when they find her, wreaking havoc in the village of the abductor. One may say that this is the first cycle of exchange in an affinal relationship and it is totally negative. The abductor's kin group offers a present of ornaments called *sovu hambo*, and promises a bridewealth of acceptable proportions in return for which the bride's parents depart in peace.

It should be noted that, though this second cycle contains an exchange of positive (rather than negative) objects of mediation, the bridegroom's people remain in the position of debtors, while the bride's parents continue to harbour their anger. All they have agreed to is the continued residence of the bride with the bridegroom's people, pending a satisfactory settlement. The third cycle is constituted by the payment of bridewealth, including pig sacrifices, on one side, and the transfer of the usual conjugal rights, including the right to the bride's offspring, by the bride's kin group. On the level of social exchange, however, there is still no exchange in benefits. The relationship remains one between creditor and debtor, as the bridewealth does not wipe out the anger of the bride's parents nor expiate the offence of abduction. This point will be explained further in the chapter on marriage.

It suffices to say at this stage that pig sacrifices made by the bridegroom and

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

his family are a necessary part of the process of assuaging the affinal family's anger. However, such one-sided payments do not in themselves set up a social relationship between affines among the Orokaiva. During this whole first phase of the marriage, the strictest affinal taboos are maintained, prohibiting, for instance, commensality between son-in-law and parents-in-law and their close kin. For social relations to begin, it is necessary for the bride's mother to rear a pig for sacrifice to the bridegroom. Unless she does this the son-in-law feels too 'ashamed' of the humiliations he has been through and of the anger shown to him for social relations to be possible. This sacrifice, too, has therefore an element of expiation. After this sacrifice, the taboos are relaxed and the mother-in-law attends a feast at which she *pretends* to eat. Ruth Craig (1969:189), who describes a similar pattern among the Telefolmin of the New Guinea Highlands, comments cogently: 'The second transaction, the return payment, initiates the affinal relationship and emphasises its chief characteristic, friendly reciprocity . . . The relationship starts as one of equality.' It is thus clear that model 27 provides an explanation not only of inter-village feasts and consanguineal relations, but also of the establishment of affinal relationships. On the social plane pig-sacrifice establishes positive reciprocity, while on the magico-religious plane it generates *ivo* for the participants. Reciprocity and *ivo* are thus homologous notions on different levels of conceptualisation.

REFERENCES

1 Durkheim wrote that a sacrifice is composed of two essential elements: an act of communion and an act of oblation (1961: 384). He distinguished sharply between representative or commemorative rites and piacular rites, according to the prevailing mood. The former are performed in a state of confidence and joy, the latter in a state of sadness, arising out of misfortune, evil omens, sorrow or fear (*ibid.* 434–5). Evans-Pritchard (1956:275) made a somewhat similar distinction, though perhaps a less subjective one, between 'communion' (involving a desire to be close to God) and 'piaculum' (involving a desire to keep God away or get rid of him).

The phenomena described in this work, though aberrant from the viewpoint of the Durkeimian and Evans-Pritchard models, are fairly widespread in Melanesia. For instance, Lane, describing pig sacrifices on South Pentecost, points out (1) that sacrificer and sacrificed pig merge and share identity; (2) that the meaning of the offerings is 'clarified by reference to the way in which a special formal friendship is instituted between two men' (1965: 267). The Mae Enga sacrifice pigs to a ghost when that ghost is suspected of causing misfortunes. But half or more of the meat, sometimes all of it, goes to maternal kinsmen as the ghost is always considered to belong to the uterine line (Meggitt 1965*b*: 112–3). Elements of communion and piaculum are both present, but also a need to influence critical social relationships.

2 For a detailed discussion of myths related to the differentiation of species, see Lévi-Strauss 1964.

3 For details on the effect of the Mount Lamington eruption on the Sangara tribe and the founding and development of Hohorita, see Schwimmer 1969.

4 A fuller discussion on Orokaiva leadership will be found in Reay 1953, Schwimmer 1967.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

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5 This interpretation of Orokaiva sorcery appears to be largely supported by Lawrence and Meggitt who argue that in societies with 'stable social organisation' (among which they count the Orokaiva), sorcery accusations act 'both as an important medium for expressing enmity and as an excuse for initiating warfare, which is ultimately the most effective means of relieving feelings of aggression' (1965: 17). The authors appear to believe that sorcery can be explained along psychological lines as fulfilling a need for channelling aggression (*ibid.* 18). I find it hard to see how the specific facts of sorcery behaviour (and especially the transactional patterns described in these pages) can be explained in terms of universal needs. Sorcery is only one of many substitutes for physical aggression and all these substitutes, in one way or another, serve to maintain a relationship of negative reciprocity.

Accusations of sorcery probably have a cognitive as well as an effective 'function', for they imply an explanation of misfortunes for which no natural cause is known. Furthermore, such accusations turn misfortune into an object of mediation in (negative) social exchange. The assumption is made that the misfortune will continue until the relationship with the sorcerer is basically changed, either by his defeat or by reconciliation.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

CHAPTER VIII

COCONUT AND BETELNUT

1. *Theoretical Intermezzo*

We have discussed throughout this work the belief that crises in social relations are resolved by magic. In the last chapter we showed explicitly that this is the view expressed in the Orokaiva folk model of exchange (model 25). There are two implications in this folk model: that magical power (*ivo*) is required to establish social relations and that social relations have the effect of generating *ivo* for those who establish them. The objection that may be advanced against this approach is its subjectivity. One may call it a phenomenological approach, as it is based on *ego*'s experience of *alter*'s world as transcendant (see Schutz 1967: 312–29). One may also call it the approach of Marcel Mauss (1966), who explained exchange by a magical construction he called *hau*. It may be argued that it has some resemblance with Sartre's philosophy (1960), where the opposition between *ego* and *alter* is transcended by a 'dialectical process' or 'praxis'. Here again no interdependence of *ego* and *alter* is deemed to exist prior to a course of action inaugurated by *ego* and serving to transcend the opposition.

Against all these theories, Lévi-Strauss has argued that exchange is logically prior to giving, receiving and giving in return. In his theory, unconscious mental structures not only determine that man should order his universe by means of systems of binary oppositions, but also that these oppositions should be transcended by syntheses. Exchange, and any form of communication, is a synthesis where things are perceived simultaneously from the viewpoint of self and other and destined by nature to pass from the one to the other. The situation that they *belong to* the one or the other arises out of initial relational characteristics (Lévi-Strauss 1966: xlvi).

The evidence quoted for these unconscious mental structures is mainly linguistic: the Papuans and Melanesians have only one word for sale and purchase, lending and borrowing, which shows that contradictions between these terms must be illusory. If we survey the Orokaiva data reported in previous chapters, we notice that in general objects of mediation are similarly 'destined by nature' to pass from one partner to another. Meat, for instance, is magically effective only or predominantly if it is received as a gift. One may say that pigs are a family's gift-children: they are part of the family but it is their destiny to be given away. From birth, they may be said to 'belong' to some exchange partner. In fact, in my whole discussion on mediation, I stressed that the donor must be identified with the object of mediation and that, for the exchange relation to be effective, the recipient should also identify with it. I pointed out

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5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

Rimoldi. I witnessed marriage and mortuary payments where an entire *hae* (including non-consanguines) were present, but where clansmen of different *hae* had no business to be present. 614 924

Orokaiva genealogies hardly ever extended further than two generations beyond the oldest living member of a family. Thus, I was able to draw up a sizeable list of people who lived in Sivepe and other villages around 1915, but could get no genealogical information showing how these people were related to one another. However, informants were able to tell me the *hae* of these ancestors, and these *hae* proved to be the only evidence for statements that A and B 'must have been closely related' or 'cannot have been closely related'. In contrast to the clan and clan segment (which I shall later show to be military and political units – whole or fragmentary), the plant emblem group alone has the nature of a true kinship group. Therefore we should not be surprised that the *hae* occurs prominently in the Orokaiva marriage rules with regard to incest and exogamy.

3. *Williams' Theory of Orokaiva Marriage*

Being a most careful ethnographer, Williams frankly admitted he was unable to understand the Orokaiva rules of exogamy. He quotes three conflicting sets of rules, given to him by informants, and was unable to discern any clear system. According to some informants the clan was the exogamous group. According to others, marriage within the clan was sometimes permissible, but marriage was prohibited between persons sharing a plant emblem. A third rule quoted to Williams was that marriage was prohibited between *du* (i.e. real and classificatory siblings) but permitted and common between cross-cousins. One task of the present essay is to resolve these contradictions. 582 [121]

Williams, furthermore, confessed himself unable to find any positive marriage regulations, i.e. 'any prescribed classes into which a man is obliged to marry' (1930:132). Here he was being too modest: in a subsequent discussion of 'the four forms of marriage' of the Orokaiva, he actually provided the key to the system, though he was unable to carry its analysis as far as he managed to do in some of his later ethnographies, such as those of the Koiari and the *Papuans of the Trans-Fly*. 582 583

The 'four forms' were: purchase, exchange, elopement, and capture. Marriage by capture used to be very frequent and a regular aftermath of cannibal raids. Williams reports that, under this form of marriage, relations between affines often remained hostile – which is not surprising. In many cases the hostile groups later established peace or at least a truce. One feature of such a truce used to be the payment of bridewealth for captured women. The truce was often negotiated at least partly through the influence of the captive. Though Williams has little information on the compensation paid one gathers that the usual pattern of Orokaiva bridewealth payments was followed: pigs, valuables, bark-cloth, pots, taro, etc. My own data confirm that it was not uncommon for ordinary affinal relations to be established once the captors had paid bridewealth. Children of the marriage would then set up the customary relationship with their mother's brother and even receive permanent rights in hunting lands and the like. 583 602 578

Elopement marriage likewise used to be very frequent. Williams reports that it

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

583 602 578 led to serious quarrels, especially if the girl had been kept by her parents or brother for an exchange marriage. Usually, these quarrels were settled in due course upon payment of a suitable bridewealth and sometimes by a subsequent marriage for which the abductor's family provided the bride. Williams comments:

> The remarkable gestures of hostility against the husband's people which sometimes characterise Orokaiva marriage, i.e. the attempted dragging away of the bride by her people, the humiliation of the bridegroom, the damaging of his village and the bellicose demonstrations at the taking over of the *dorobu* (= bridewealth), all properly belong to the irregular methods of capture and elopement; they are the aftermath, the retaliation (1930:149).

583 584 The third and fourth marriage forms distinguished by Williams are purchase (i.e. obtaining a wife in exchange for *dorobu*) and exchange (*mine*, i.e. an arrangement whereby two men each make a true or classificatory sister available to the other). It seems that Williams did not differentiate clearly between modes of obtaining a wife and modes of making a valid marriage contract. One might obtain a wife in a number of ways. Certainly, capture and abduction seem to have been the most frequent at one time, but there were also child betrothals; long-standing preferential arrangements between villages; romances leading to sister exchange and marriages to seal political alliances. There was the whole gamut between choices made by lovers without parental approval and choices (probably relatively less frequent) made by parental fiat. But there were only two ways of making a valid marriage contract, namely *dorobu* and *mine*. Williams himself comes very close to this view towards the end of his chapter on 'Marriage' (1930: Ch. IX). He also maintains, no doubt correctly, that in Orokaiva thought *mine* appears as the 'ideal', i.e. preferential, mode of contracting a marriage:

> It appears that marriage by exchange is preferable to marriage by purchase – at least in the eyes of the marriageable man, and probably also in the eyes of his elders who sympathise with his desires. We may perhaps go so far as to say that the actual buying of a wife only takes place when circumstances make present or future exchange impossible (1930: 149).

This seems to place Williams' theory firmly on the side of Guiart's theory of marriage in New Caledonia: exchange marriage becomes the preferential mode, the 'model', whereas marriage 'by purchase' is demoted to the status of an ecologically caused departure from the 'model'. In this chapter I shall argue that Williams' Orokaiva theory reifies the folk model and conceals some of the complexity of Orokaiva social structure.

4. *Elements of Restricted Exchange*

582 583 Marriage rules related to the principle of restricted exchange are actually more numerous than Williams supposed. They must be briefly reviewed before we can argue cogently that the principle of restricted exchange does not suffice to account for the rules governing the total Orokaiva marriage system. Williams was entirely right in supposing that the Orokaiva have preferential sister exchange

marriage, even though actual cases recorded in the three village investigated are only 5 per cent of the total for true siblings and the proportion is declining. Sister exchange marriages were considered best because relations between affines were apt to be the most harmonious and also because no bride price was necessary. As any trouble that occurs in family life is apt to be ascribed to sorcery by affines, it was thought that families founded on sister exchange marriage would be the most likely to prosper in respect of health, stability and economic success.

Furthermore, there is an explicit rule of preferential bilateral cross-cousin marriage. All informants were agreed that the most proper marriage partner is one who is addressed as *simbo* before marriage; Williams defines *simbo* as 'child of the father's sister; children of all *tata*; child of the mother's brother; children of all *nobo*, i.e. cross-cousins' (1930: 109). Out of twenty-two married couples resident in Sivepe, fourteen actually called each other *simbo* before marriage. Williams notes that *simbo* marriages were extremely common in the communities he studies (1930:132), but does not seem to have been told of the preferential rule.

The existence of such a rule can be inferred not only from direct statements, but also from investigation of the primary meaning of the term *simbo* itself. The primary meaning is not cross-cousin and we shall later see that the two terms do not entirely share the same field of reference. *Simbo* is an arrangement of marriage. A *simbo* may be established when a boy's parents bring part of a bridewealth to the parents of a girl they want their son to marry. If the arrangement is acceptable, the parents help in the garden of their son's future affines and continue to send food. Such an arrangement is usually made immediately after the rituals following the girl's first menstruation. If the *simbo* is broken, the girl's parents must pay back the gifts. In a secondary sense, the word *simbo* also refers to that category of consanguines with which betrothals of the kind just described can be properly made. All members of that category are either cross-cousins in the strict sense, or consanguines with whom kinship can be traced neither wholly in the patriline, nor wholly in the matriline.

There are also rules establishing preferential marriage between specific villages. Though Williams did not notice the presence of this rule among the Orokaiva, he described a very similar rule obtaining among the Koiari, where he spoke of 'reciprocating pairs of groups' (1932). Under this arrangement, two local clan groups or exogamous lineages give wives to each other from generation to generation, each side supplying as near as possible an equal number. A group that has received a wife is expected to send one back in the same or the next generation. If the return prestation occurs in the same generation one may speak of sister exchange; if it occurs in the next generation, the rule is expressed by the Orokaiva as *eta data jimbari*, i.e. marrying in the mother's village.

This rule applies especially to girls who are expecting to go to the village from which their mother has been taken, thus balancing accounts between reciprocating pairs of groups. Such a rule cannot properly be described as a prescription for patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, as there is at the same time a preference for sister exchange, so that the total pattern of marriages between reciprocating pairs of groups is ideally (and in fact commonly) bilateral. I found that 35 per cent of Orokaiva marriages now in force were contracted in accordance with the rule of *eta data jimbari*, for a period not less than two generations.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

consolidated Orokaiva villages I visited. Yet historical evidence of earlier settlements precludes the supposition that co-residence of reciprocating marriage groups was ever a regular practice or a preferential rule. Such co-residence can be explained only by Australian pressure towards village consolidation. Far from being congenial to the Orokavia, it may better be regarded as a major potential cause of strain. When the Australian administration planned to intensify this consolidation policy after the Mount Lamington eruption in 1951, Belshaw rightly warned the authorities in a published paper (1951) that the enforced co-residence of affines would create serious social strains which might impede the administration's social development objectives. The Orokaiva response to these social strains appears to have been to restructure the multi-clan villages and give them an organisational form they are more easily able to handle. Under this arrangement agnates, uterine kin and affines live together in the same village but are sorted into two groups of real or fictional agnates. These two groups have affinal relations with one another and stand in complementary opposition in social and political affairs.

In some villages this complementary opposition is further expressed in the position of the two groups in village topography. Nearly all Orokaiva villages are built in two facing rows separated by a fairly wide grassed area known as the *araha*. For cosmological reasons that do not concern us here, these rows tend to run in the direction of the top of Mount Lamington – from downhill (*veari*) to uphill (*avunu*). The two rows are known as *mende* or *bende*, a word which may mean 'nose' or 'hillock' or 'side of a village'. The two sides are designated as *ihane* and *sose*, *ihane* being to the right of a person facing the mountain, *sose* on the left. In 1965, when Sivepe was rebuilt on a new site, all Seho men built their houses on the *ihane* side while all Jegase men built on the *sose* side.

Outwardly, the topography of this new Sivepe does not differ significantly from the earliest descriptions we have of Orokaiva villages in the early post-contact period. These villages also had two sides. They had the same short connecting lines of houses at the *avunu* and *veari* ends of the village. Williams reports that these connecting lines prevent spirits from coming into the *araha*. The only differences are in size and in the style of the houses. The basic innovation in New Sivepe lies in the arrangement of social groups on the village site. Real or assumed agnatic links now exist between all the householders on each side, whereas affinal relations exist between all the householders of one side and the other. The door openings of the affines face each other, but they are separated by the wide field of the *araha*. When people sit down to smoke and chew betelnut in front of their houses, there is easy movement between residents who live on the same side. They frequently visit each other's fires without any ceremony. But one does not cross the *araha* to sit on the other side without a serious purpose. One watches what happens on the other side; one does not always hear it. There is frequent and friendly contact between the sides but it is clear to the observer that the physical distance between them symbolises an equally real social distance.

This residential arrangement between affines is not traditional. If affines happened to live in a traditional hamlet there were no formal patterns for keeping them at a physical distance. When multi-clan villages were first established, households of the various clans were placed next to each other in a

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

000 2. E. G. and J. D. Krige describe a particularly clear example (1943: Ch. IX; 1939) among the Lovedu.

583 606 578 3. I discussed in Chapter VII the Orokaiva device of using anger for the mediation of social relations. Monica Wilson has described a somewhat similar mechanism for the Nyakusa (1952: 99–112; 1959: 161, 165, 217). Among the Orokaiva, however, two opposite tendencies are at work: the obligation to express at once the anger one feels and the offender's obligation to assuage that anger (whether justified or not). Much Orokaiva exchange involves prestations made by one party to compensate for anger felt by the other.

While 'anger in the heart' is disapproved by Orokaiva, most actual misfortunes are explained by anger existing in someone else's heart. The guilty person is deemed to be he who, though aware of his anger, does nothing to remove it. It is most often the victim of the angry person's retribution who is expected to feel guilty. One may show anger by harming one*self*. Such action, while overtly non-aggressive, is in fact a threatening signal to the causer of the anger.

000 4. A similar discovery was made by Watson (1970) in a paper based on New Guinea Highlands data, entitled 'Society as Organised Flow'.

435 245 At the time of planting, copra prices were relatively high (averaging £32.10.0 per ton f.o.b. in 1920) but a fall in overseas prices and the introduction of the Navigation Act in 1921 (which resulted in exports to Europe having to go to Australia first) made copra production uneconomic.(1) [258] [249] No copra was ever made from the community coconut grove at Ongoho, nor were the small stands of rubber and citrus fruits ever exploited. 245 425 After the war the Akute'undi, as landowners, claimed the trees as their own on the ground that the community project had been abandoned long before. One Akute'undi man claims and uses about half of the trees. His father planted food crops on that part of the land before the coconuts were planted and he now plants vegetables between the coconuts. Each of the resident Akute'undi men claims the right to the produce of several particular trees on the other half. Three trees are set aside for the medical assistant at the local Aid Post, as he is a stranger. Most members of the other sub-clans question the right of the Akute'undi to the exclusive use of the coconuts as [578] all groups participated in the planting. Occasionally some member of the other sub-clans asserts himself and collects nuts from the "community plantation" and the dispute which is normally quiescent flares up again.

245 258 249 Enquiries in fifteen other Orokaiva areas where coconuts were planted under the regulations show that most were never used for copra-making, though a few of those on the coast were so used from time to time. Not one plantation was systematically exploited. The rubber was not tapped as there was no market for the latex, and most plantations were not cleared after planting.(2) The citrus fruits were never exploited commercially, again because there was no market.

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(1) By 1923 average f.o.b. price per ton had fallen to £19.0.0 and by 1930 to £11.10.0. By 1934 the price was £8.0.0 per ton in London or about £4.10.0 f.o.b. Papua, though Papuans had long since stopped selling. The above prices were those paid to exporting traders, and net prices paid to indigenous producers were probably not much more than half those mentioned above.

(2) After 1941 other arrangements were made for use of the rubber plantations. For details see Rimoldi 1964.

After 1958 most of the coffee produced by indigenous growers in the Northern District came from plots which were planted by individuals (largely as a result of agricultural extension services) and registered under the Higaturu Local Government Council land registration scheme. The communal project was formally abandoned in 1960 with the repeal of the Native Plantations Ordinance.(1) Crown lands reverted to the Crown and native lands to their owners. The Government has treated the Crown lands as reserves for the local people and has not taken any action to restrict their use as communal plantations. Today, however, only 9 of the 16 pre-war plantations which we visited are producing at all, and they at only a fraction of their potential output.

We traced the history of the Ongoho community block in detail in a series of separate interviews at each of the villages which had participated in the project.(2) The collapse of the project there was caused by disagreement over land rights, apportionment of work and distribution of income. The disputing parties were the various sub-clans which had participated in the project. The sub-clans may be roughly equated with villages.(3)

Before the war, strict control by the Administration precluded the emergence of these particular problems: the land had been demarcated and the trees planted under close supervision, fixed patterns of work were imposed, and the money was paid to each man by a government official. By the late 1940's however, the sanctions for failure to work were not in fact being exercised, and attendance was irregular. The Ongoho "coffee boss" who had been responsible for local supervision from about 1945 found the dissension too much to control and resigned in 1948. Little work was being done and the govern-

(1) The Native Plantations (Papua) Repeal Ordinance 1960.

(2) This was necessary because the issue is still very contentious and feelings about the disputes over the community gardens are still strong.

(3) In fact each village is regarded as being that of a particular sub-clan, despite the existence of smaller enclaves of other sub-clans in most of them. Marriage is usually (but not exclusively) between sub-clans and almost invariably within the Asigi tribal group.

245 ment coffee pulping machine was withdrawn. Supervision of the coffee was taken over by the village constable (who had been in charge of the coffee before the war) but no records of attendance were kept. Later, at the constable's suggestion, a Patrol Officer is said to have appointed one Haruma (who is a classificatory brother of the constable's wife) as coffee boss. This must have been an unofficial appointment as he was not [578] paid. There was by this time a continuing dispute about the distribution of income from the coffee.

578 423 614 The Hoiwo'undi sub-clan, on whose land the Ongoho coffee was planted, claimed a larger share of the proceeds because the land was "theirs". As no agreement was reached, the Hoiwo'undi forbade members of other sub-clans to enter the coffee gardens. This prohibition was respected even though many people felt it to have been unjust. Legally of course neither Hoiwo'undi nor any other sub-clan had any right to the land, because the whole garden area had been purchased by the Crown in 1922 and set aside as a reserve for the purpose of a native plantation in 1923. But security of tenure is dependent much more on beliefs than it is on law and in fact the people do not concede the government's right to the land. All are agreed that it is Hoiwo'undi land, though the other sub-clans consider that as everybody cleared the bush and planted the trees, it is unjust that Hoiwo'undi should have denied them access. No- [241] body, however, seems to deny their right to do so. In fact Hoiwo'undi people had been using the front part of the area for a food garden before the community coffee plantation was established. One family of Akute'undi sub-clan had also been gardening there with the approval of Hoiwo'undi. The coffee boss (Haruma) was also the leader of the Hoiwo'undi sub-clan.

245 For a time the community garden was abandoned altogether, but later some Hoiwo'undi people harvested coffee there spasmodically. The income was shared within Hoiwo'undi. No weeding, pruning or other maintenance work was carried 73 out at this period. At the time of the Mt. Lamington eruption 241 in 1951 all work ceased. The government coffee factory and buying centre was destroyed and so were several of the community plantations.(1) Due to the trauma caused by the disaster

(1) In fact the coffee trees grew again from seed which had been lying in the ground and which was not affected by the eruption. These self-sown trees have not been tended or thinned, however, and their productive potential today seems to be very low.

and a lack of buying facilities, no coffee was picked at Ongoho until 1952. 241 [731]

In that year a local company (R.F. Bunting & Co. Ltd.) began buying coffee. The market price was higher than it had been when the government was buying (i.e. up to 1951) and it continued to increase. Some Hoiwo'undi resumed harvesting coffee from the Ongoho community block, but there was constant tension between them and the other sub-clans, Akute'undi in particular. Only a little of the coffee was picked, most of it by the village constable and the coffee boss and their close kin.(1) In 1953 they took two sacks of coffee to the Department of Agriculture in order to buy a coffee pulping machine worth £21.0.0. The machine did not function properly and after several years a passing Patrol Officer took it to Popondetta for repair. The Patrol Officer was later transferred and the machine was never located again. The owners still harbour a grievance on this account. [578] [258]

Agricultural extension services in the district were expanded during 1955-6 at the same time as the Higaturu Local Government Council was being formed. (The council area embraces all except one of the community plantations). Although agricultural policy at that time was to encourage future planting by individuals rather than groups, efforts were made to increase production from existing community plantations. Extension workers visited every community plantation and wherever possible enlisted local co-operation to have undergrowth cleared and trees pruned. Not all the people at Ongoho worked, but factional differences were sufficiently contained for several sub-clans to work together under the supervision of extension workers. Once the major task was completed and the 654 245 245 578 [654]

(1) The village constable was a member of Akute'undi sub-clan but was married to the most senior woman of Hoiwo'undi sub-clan. She has a very forceful personality, is married within her own village and is the only member of her family to have borne children. They will therefore acquire some land rights from her. The land on which the community coffee is planted was previously used for gardening by her father and her brothers. Her husband was village constable and he and his lineage pick coffee, but other lineages of his sub-clan do not and he is as forceful as his wife in denying their right to do so. In fact the constable and the coffee boss (who is a classificatory brother of the constable's wife) seem to have co-operated throughout to maximise their joint advantage. [425]

extension staff left, the internal tensions re-asserted themselves. [245] [578] [654] [435]

The people made an attempt to keep the garden working as the price of coffee was then 3/3 per pound. Persons from several sub-clans participated in harvesting, pulping and drying and a consignment of coffee was taken on foot to Popondetta (a distance of about seventeen miles each way by the paths then in use). For the first time women and children helped with the harvesting. The income from sales was distributed by the coffee boss, but disputes arose over the proportions due to the "landowners" for the use of the land and to the coffee boss for his supervision, as well as the relative shares to be given to those who had done the work, for some had not worked as many days as others. Members of other sub-clans again withdrew from the project. The coffee boss himself and some members of Hoiwo'undi sub-clan occasionally harvested a little coffee to provide money for particular needs, but most of it was left untouched. No further maintenance was done. When the Higaturu Council and its supervising officer, Mr. Normoyle, strongly advocated planting by individuals rather than groups, a number of people took seeds from the community garden and established their own individual coffee plots. [462] [464] [578] [433] [434]

When the Higaturu Council erected a coffee factory in Popondetta late in 1959, councillors were encouraged to maximise coffee production in their areas. The Ongoho councillor (who is a half-brother of the ex-village constable)(1) was able to persuade some people to start harvesting again. On this occasion each family was to be allowed to harvest, process and sell whatever coffee its members picked.(2) People were to be allowed to pick anywhere and at any time. No maintenance was done except on one occasion at the beginning when all people worked together to clear the undergrowth. This system [578]

(1) When the council was formed all village constables were compulsorily retired. [625]

(2) The produce was still taken to Popondetta on foot. The Higaturu Council provided a tractor and trailer to collect coffee from various points along the main Saiho-Popondetta road, but Ongoho was about eight miles from the nearest point. As a flat rate of one penny per pound was charged for the service, the Ongoho people did not use it. They used to leave Ongoho at dusk and carry all night and arrive at the factory early the following morning. [489]

245 operated for several months but broke down when the Hoiwo'undi, who felt that they were entitled as landowners to some extra [578] share of the proceeds, again forbade members of other sub-clans to enter the coffee garden.

Since that time only the coffee boss and his family have ever picked the coffee, and they only occasionally. No maintenance has been carried out for some years. The Hoiwo'undi people say they would like to take full control of the block and divide it into individual plots - one for each of the six men in the sub-clan. They would be prepared to grant a portion of the block to the related Akute'undi of Ongoho village who were planting food crops on some of the land at the time the 578 coffee project was started. Some Akute'undi claim that the land is, in fact, theirs exclusively. The other sub-clans want separate and equal divisions for each of the participating sub-clans, arguing that all cleared and planted the coffee. It is unlikely that agreement will be reached.

121 We subsequently paid brief visits to sixteen other plantations which had been gazetted pre-war to determine the nature of the problems which had led to their abandonment. As time did not permit of detailed investigations, we regard the results as indicative rather than definitive. Details of the situation are set out in Appendix A. A.

A. [See Category 423, pp. 37-40--Analyst]

Chapter 3

Land tenure and social structure

a. The tribe and clan as territorial or political units

128 [614] [619] This section outlines the range of wider common territorial interests and concerted political action among traditional groupings. Clans are the largest units in which membership is determined by patrilineal filiation as distinct from the local allegiance underlying membership of the tribe, and of the 'district', village, etc., into which the tribe may be divided.

619 The tribe is the largest unit which has a common territory (Williams 1930:156-7). This is usually isolated from neighbouring tribal territories by a belt of uninhabited country and its occupants would speak of it as 'one ground', pusu tahavo. The territories of groups of various orders of inclusiveness within the tribe are also described in this way (see Williams 0.364; 1930:157).

[829] Members of a group of any of these levels might consider themselves as toho, 'countrymen' (see Williams 1930:166; 0.100, 364). In another context a group would consider others in the same tribe as kitoho (outsiders, aliens). All members of the tribe shared common enmities so that at times they would regard themselves as toho whereas neighbouring tribes were always considered kitoho.[1]

[578] There were customary restrictions upon feuding within the tribe. As Williams (1930:309 ff.) points out, this political unit is the largest group with its own intragroup morality, in this case sharply distinguished from the standard forms of hostility between [266] [721] tribes. Aggression against members of another tribe took the form of organized, often cannibalistic raids (isoro).

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[1] Williams (1930:160) mentions exceptions where 'friendship or affinity between certain tribes allowed the use of the former word' (toho), but 'tribes...normally stand in the mutual relation of Kitohu' (sic) (ibid: 170; see also 0.100, 364).

possession of its own tracts of land' (1928:125). In view of the uncertainties regarding attributes which, we have noted, Williams associates with the 'clan', we can not readily say whether our discussion in the following sections confirms or contradicts this statement on land tenure.

Fighting within the tribe (emboge), though frequent,[1] was governed by restrictive conventions absent from the conduct of deliberate raids (isoro). Organised aggression was rare and the deliberate destruction and homicide characteristic of the tribal raid were absent from the skirmishes which arose periodically in the course of ordinary interclan relationships. Disagreement over rights to land in the neighbourhood was one of a number of causes of interclan hostilities (see Williams 1930:107, 163). But we found no evidence from the area discussed in this report to indicate that land disputes between members of different clans involved the mobilization of their descent groups. Informants firmly denied that people would resort to attacking neighbours from another clan in order to acquire land.

In presenting a picture of continuous feuding between local kin groups within the tribe, Keesing (1951:6) quotes Williams out of context: Williams (1930:311; and 160-7) was referring to the ineffectiveness of intertribal truces not to instability of peaceful relationships between these smaller groups when he says that no village lived in permanent security for fear of raids from its neighbours. The tribe lacked close political cohesion but relations between local groups within it do not seem to have been as precarious as Keesing describes. As Plant (1951: Appendix 3) indicates, a network of affiliations between descent groups in widely scattered areas formerly ensured generaly peaceful relations within the tribe.

The frequency with which fragments of one clan are found scattered in 3 or more districts of the tribe suggests that here Langness' discussion of the Highlands (Watson, ed. 1964:174) may be relevant when he points to the probability of a causal connection between continuous violent warfare and the weakly patrilineal structure of groups,[2] in view of the fact that most warring groups needed continually to replace losses in numerical strength by recruiting outsiders; they would repeatedly scatter, regroup, take refuge or attach themselves permanently to stronger groups for

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[1] In fact, Williams (W.37) records that members of Jegase clan once fought some of the Sarahu, even though the names of the 2 clans were linked as the name of the political unit which he defined (see p.34).

[2] See sections c-f of this chapter.

166 361 613 Neither the man nor his son has every cultivated his patrimonial land at Hamburata although they hunt and fish there. The man makes these periodic visits to affirm his rights as he claims that constant surveillance is necessary to forestall encroachment on his land. His father's brother controls the land in his absence.

By 1950 the members of the Berekipa households who numbered 12 had thus acquired only 5 parcels of land (totalling 9 acres) near Sivepe since the lineage returned from Hamburata 30 years before, and had to rely on other lineages for access to adequate land. [657] After the war the Berekipa were asked by the Administration to move from Pusahambo to a village called Pamba where Arehu lineage was living. They seem to have been largely dependent on the Arehu and on affines elsewhere for planting rights since then.

The Arehu people had founded Totogata next to Simbehata and remained there after the other Jegase people had moved on to Euru and Korogombata. Some members of Bebehupa lineage, in refusing to recognize Arehu as a genuine Jegase lineage, explain that it is an immigrant group descended from a Togahau man of Arehu clan[1] who was adopted as a child after a Jegase raid on the Togahau. The land the group now holds is centred on Simbehata and the Bebehupa, although they take little interest in it, allege that it was acquired when the Jegase man from Simbehata was killed at Divinikovari. The Arehu have retained and strengthened their rights over the years and to all effects have become absorbed into the local branch of the clan, extending their effective ties there by intermarrying with other lineages. When pressed, the only resident male (d4J) even answers questions about the position ascribed to him as one of the agnates in the local group by stressing that he and his father married Jegase women, as if no more need be said. [578] The grandson of the alleged original landholder has disputed the rights of the Arehu man to the parcel of land on which the old village Simbehata was situated.

[657] Several years after the ancestors of the Bebehupa left Simbehata the Arehu were told by a government officer to amalgamate with other Jegase people and with the members of Timumu and Seho clans from Euru and Asina. The village formed on Seho land was old Sivepe with its satellite, Pamba; most of the people stayed there until they fled the Mt Lamington eruption in January 1951.

The Pekuma and Hajejopa lineages of Timumu clan had both joined the Jegase and Seho people in founding old Sivepe. The fathers

[1] This clan today is represented in Sirembi village in Togahau Census Division and possibly in other villages there. In 1923 Williams (O.1) noted that they were also present in the villages of Pororí and Ohamba.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 45]

166 361 613 of the 2 senior men of Sivepe had divided their allegiance between branches of the clan at Euru and Soroputa and had exercised rights to land near both places. Since the death of his father the Pekuma man (d1T) has lived first in Euru and then Sivepe with his mother's kin and later his wife's kin. He and his adopted son (e1T) hold 28 acres nearby but he has never cultivated the land his father used at Soroputa; he sometimes obtains the permission of his father's brother to collect the produce from trees his father planted (see p.24).

About the time the older Hajejopa man (d15T) established his household at Euru, he was involved in a dispute with his father's kin from Soroputa who wanted him to return or else relinquish his rights to the land his father had cultivated there before settling permanently at Euru. Like the Pekuma man he preferred to settle on the comparatively large landholdings (18 acres) near Sivepe and severed most connections with Soroputa.

731 361 (ii) Changes following the 1951 eruption. Sivepe-Pamba and Binduta were a few miles outside the area destroyed by the major eruption. Referring to the population of these marginal areas Keesing (1951:3) says that 'after the first panic of scattering... local groupings were in the main able to reassemble in the regional camps with such official aid as was necessary'. Refugees from the west side of the mountain were collected from emergency encampments along the Kokoda road and taken to a regional camp first at Wairope and then at Ilimo near the Kumusi River. The villages of the Jegase and Timumu were included in the danger zone which was defined about 4 months after the first eruption. They were about 7 miles from the summit and the danger area extended for 8 to 12 miles around the active crater.

When the limits of the zone were determined about 3,000 people whose villages were not closed off or who could find kinsmen to live with in resettlement areas outside the zone left the refugee camps. Most of the 2,000 who remained for some time at Ilimo were from the villages such as Sivepe on the more fertile land higher up the west and north-west slopes. Members of our sample however left to live with clansmen or other kin at Awala No.2 on the main road. In the chain of fairly continuous settlements which grew along the road great uncertainty surrounded land use problems. There were frequent moves, uncertain titles, disputes over tenure, and conflicting authority among leaders from different local and kin groups. [578]

Most of these villages were still partially dependent on emergency rations issued to them while breaking in new gardens. Some of the Jegase people in Awala had their own small pockets of land nearby where they planted emergency crops and foraged; some made excursions during the day into the closed area to collect

A. [See Category 428, p.24--Analyst]

73 food from their abandoned gardens which they found in good
36 condition, apart from the uncontrolled growth of weeds.

No doubt minor adjustments in the distribution of land rights were made in the course of resettlement of the land around Sivepe when the people returned after a year's absence. But they would not have been faced with the major problems met with in the crowded resettlement areas with large numbers of immigrants. When the people of old Sivepe-Pamba returned from the evacuation camp they re-established their village on its old site.

613 It was not long, however, before the Timumu people became
36 involved in a protracted dispute with members of Kongahambo
[578] village (a new resettlement concentration near Sasembata), over
[177] garden damage caused by pigs, and in order to avoid more trouble they decided to move further away to build on their land at the present site of Sivepe village. The members of Berekipa and Arehu lineages and of Seho clan remained in the old village until a Patrol Officer asked them to reunite with the Timumu people. Since the Timumu were not keen to move back and since the occupants of the old village agreed with the Patrol Officer's assertion that it was poorly drained, these Jegase and Seho people moved to Sivepe in 1953. They were given permission to build by the Timumu lineage which owned most of the land on the site.

Meanwhile the Bebehupa had returned after the eruption to
[754] Binduta where they lived with Usohu people for about 8 years. Then friction between the 2 groups became too great and, following accusations of sorcery, 4 Bebehupa households came to live on pockets of lineage land within the new Sivepe. Their houses are not aligned with those of the Jegase men who arrived earlier but the other 2 clan branches tend to occupy distinct sections of the village.[1]

614 (iii) The distribution of other clan branches. One Jegase
36 clan branch lives several miles west of Sivepe in Hururuta village. Another group of Jegase splintered from the local branch of the clan after protracted disputes and settled at Kakendetta near Popondetta. The Sivepe people do not know how they acquired land rights there but insist that they voluntarily relinquished all their original rights. The clan is represented in Kiorota, Mahihita and Isoge; Plant (1951: Appendix 3) also reported that there were members of the clan in Kokitate and Pondohe.

A large branch of the clan now at Suin village is said to have moved down from the slopes onto unoccupied land which lay between

[1] The houses of parent and 1 son or a married daughter are usually adjacent but those of additional children are often located elsewhere.

621 current village of the other or from a village within a mile of it, in 11 cases from within a radius of approximately 3 miles of it (in fact an area only slightly larger than the 'neighbourhood'), while 2 spouses came from outside the tribe. Williams (1930:131-3) speaks of 'a certain degree of local endogamy'. The Aiga village '(in which there may be several clans)...cannot be called exogamous even in theory'.

Belshaw too (1951:15) pointed out that marriage is usually between people whose parents do not live far apart. For this reason he warned that amalgamation of nearby 'hamlets' after the eruption might increase tension between groups linked by marriage. [602] But relationships between affines in Sivepe appeared to be generally close and behaviour relatively informal and friendly when compared with other areas (e.g., Inonda).

621 Perhaps there is a similar contrast with former practice (see Williams, ibid:106, 114, 128, 131). However, in 1924 in a third 606 area (the Ope or Aiga), the village, consisting as it might of ● 578 intermarrying clans, was quite free from 'quarrels and ill-feeling' (Williams, ibid:315) and, moreover, it is 'not unusual' for a man to divide his time quite comfortably 'between the villages of his wife's people and his own' with the result that 'the relation between the father's people and the mother's people is, in practice, so friendly and intimate, that the child associates himself almost as readily with the latter as with the former' - 'so close is the intimacy between the two branches of the united family' (1925:407-8, 410).

166 Individuals freely and frequently change their village of residence, whereas the villages are enduring units. During the years 1957-61 the population of Sivepe and Binduta together averaged 165: there were in the same time no less than 113 movements of individuals into or out of this couple of villages and, according to data collected by ourselves, at least 13 between the 2 villages. The government census statistics reveal neither the cause, exact destination nor frequency of movement by an individual nor are his age or marital status recorded.[1]

614 (ii) Formal features of the local patrilineal groups. In dis-
613 cussing the local disposition of clans, we have already taken 'clan branch' to denote the representatives of the clan living in one village. We retain the term not only for the Timusu group but also for the members of the 4 Jegase lineages living at Sivepe, even though these villagers do not constitute a group of co-resident agnates with functions to mark it as a distinctive unit within the

[1] Thus the figures do not differentiate between adults and children (see McArthur 1956:324-36).

241 With the passage of the cultivation cycle over a Chimbu sub-
171 clan's territory, gardeners move from one men's house to another,
361 either as a persisting group of agnates working contiguous hold-
ings, or as individuals joining more transient groups which are dissolved as gardens near the house revert to fallow (ibid:98; Brown and Brookfield 1959:68). As they extended their cultivation to other areas, 37 per cent of a sample of 193 men had moved from one men's house to another over a period of 16 months (Brookfield and Brown 1963:98) and the men's houses themselves last no longer than 5 years (ibid:12).

241 In Sivepe on the other hand, gardens tend to be scattered and isolated. Father and son often have adjacent plots in one garden area but the son usually has at least 1 other garden elsewhere. A young married man often has 1 garden on the land of his wife's father, whom he will periodically assist in his garden. Older men in general adopt the technique of progressively planting and clearing a single large area while younger and more active men, usually with more obligations to affines, tend to cultivate several scattered smaller plots.

[621] There is no local group or extended kinship group which
[602] commonly combines to make a block of contiguous gardens. Even when all members of the village plant simultaneously for a special feast, the gardens are not adjacent. A man usually takes advantage of the choice of exercising planting rights on the land of a wide range of kinsmen (not necessarily his agnates), both those within the village and to a lesser extent kinsmen from other villages. Several had current gardens on their mother's brother's land, some on the nearby land of their wife's brother, sister's husband or daughter's husband.

613 In other Orokaiva areas (such as Inonda) gardeners of one
614 lineage often have a reciprocal arrangement with another lineage
184 of the same clan in the village to cultivate a parcel of their land with them, but this is not a common practice at Sivepe. In the few cases where several kinsmen have made adjacent gardens the gardeners are mostly cognatic kin from different clans or villages and each will probably make his next garden with different kin or on an isolated parcel.

166 Encroachment on boundaries is feared[1] but does not seem to
171 result in repeated changes of residence as it does among the
425

[578] [1] The 3 instances of boundary disputes recorded were between Bebehupa and Usohu people. According to the older men the Usohu were formerly a Jegase group and they share many boundaries with the Bebehupa; the recent split in Binduta between the 2 groups has been accompanied by friction over a number of issues including the definition of boundaries.

423 procedures for determining and recording titles were amenable to local regulation and adjustment by the institution conducting the registration. This does not mean that more than one type of right need be guaranteed or that security of title is unimportant.

657 423 A registration scheme would function best as a mechanism for resolving uncertainties over landrights in other areas where it could enhance the productivity of large blocks of land by rationalizing the overlapping claims of members of 2 or more clans. Due to the extensive fragmentation and subdivision of group territories around Sivepe and the restrictions which have been imposed on the scale and range of the past movements of groups, there were no [578] apparent conflicts in the locality over rights at the clan branch level. The current incidence of interpersonal disputes affected only a few small parcels and did not seem to be a persistent obstacle to productivity.

[425] The question is now of reduced significance as the Higaturu Council scheme has been superseded by more comprehensive provisions for land tenure conversion. Nevertheless, registration of permanent individual rights, whether on a person's own land or another's, is desirable in order to preclude disputes which might otherwise arise once the value of the land is increased by the introduction of permanent improvements in the form of cash crops.

121 [171] We contend that it is legitimate to extrapolate our local information by assuming extensive social and cultural uniformity among the mountain Orokaiva. Analysis of tenure practices and territorial organization of Sivepe groups shows that in important respects the landholding systems resemble those characteristic of certain closely-settled unilineal communities of which Chimbu might be considered the type. We therefore maintain that modern mountain Orokaiva land tenure and local organization differ considerably from the model introduced in outline by Williams in his original monographs (1925, 1928, 1930).

179 423 Finally, we wish to indicate the general significance of the type of council scheme for land registration discussed here, and this is best done by quoting at length from the report of the Mission from the International Bank. It claimed (1964:33) that solutions to land tenure problems in Papua-New Guinea would be found more readily if greater responsibility were placed 'on the native people, including the local Government Councils, to work out their own solution adapted to varying circumstances'.

This would not mean the recording of title under standard European procedures and would 'require comparative flexibility on the part of the credit organization designed to assist and stimulate native production. On this approach there could be much delegation of responsibility' among government staff and 'much

454 474 teacher who had undertaken part of a co-operatives storeman's course was approached for advice. They decided to attempt to finance training for co-operatives for 2 men, but it was over a year before agreement could be reached on the selection of the trainees, 2 Administration Servants employed in Popondetta.

By this time the teacher had disassociated himself from the scheme and advised the participants to discontinue it on the grounds that they had proved themselves incapable of organizing properly constituted meetings, that the villages had failed to co-operate with one another and that they would not seek the assistance of government officers. He told them that the joint accounts were unworkable and that they would need to buy individual £5 shares if they were to proceed with the scheme.

• 571 The development of the enterprise up to the date of our survey had been impeded by the failure to agree upon a name, an issue which those involved feel to be fundamental, and by the absence of widely accepted leadership. Meetings have been marked by disputes between local government councillors, teachers and leaders of the various descent groups participating and some decisions arrived at during meetings have not been supported by villagers who did not attend.

However, we have received some indication since leaving Sivepe that more positive co-ordination in the neighbourhood has been achieved in the meantime and concrete plans have been put forward with a view to establishing and operating a co-operative store on the main road to Popondetta (E. Waddell: personal communication). [366] There are at present at least 3 trade stores within easier reach of Sivepe than this.

may be influenced by proximity to a new area of land it is intended to bring into cultivation.[1]

(iv) Rights to land. The Orokaiva social system is characterised by flexibility in arrangements for group membership and for transmission of rights to land (e.g. through adoption). Inheritance is usually patrilineal[2] and various land rights may be distributed at a number of levels of social segmentation - the clan branch, lineage and individual - the relative significance of each varying with locality and, apparently, population density.[3] Further, more than one descent group may have rights in a single piece of land. In many instances the clan branch functions essentially as a reference group, all land being associated with it. However, it may function as a primary right-holding group for those hunting areas distinct from current garden land, typically the grasslands.[4] Priority rights to garden land are normally vested in the lineage; nevertheless, all such land is ultimately identifiable with individuals who may distribute land (and property) prior to their death not only to their immediate family but also to more distant kin.[5]

This markedly influences the pattern of both exploitation of land and transmission of rights. In the low density areas a number of descent groups often agree to exploit simultaneously an area

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[1] Rimoldi (1966:68) found no evidence of the need for new land as a motive for movement. He considers the major motives to be fear of sorcery, disputes between kin and life-crises. It is nevertheless conceivable that the fear or sorcery or disputes might arise from poor yields from over-cropped garden land, which would require a move in any case.

[2] Women are known to hold land only as a form of trust for their children (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:75).

[3] We do not know whether any causal relationship exists between these two factors. However, the existence in low density areas of primary forest surplus to current garden needs, plus extensive grassland and mountain areas utilised largely in hunting only, might well account for the responsibility for such land being vested in the larger social group, the clan branch. This group's significance has been eroded in the high density areas, where there is little or no land surplus to present gardening needs.

[4] In the high density areas hunting is frequently confined to garden land and individuals can commonly hunt over land belonging to anyone in the village.

[5] For example, sisters' sons (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:24).

241 423 [613] that is then cultivated contiguously,[1] while in the high density areas there is a tendency towards a more individual pattern of exploitation.[2] Short-term rights to land for the non-lineage members are frequently granted (on a reciprocal basis), sometimes to facilitate contiguous cultivation or to compensate for inadequate landholdings. This pattern is promoted by the high degree of [425] fragmentation of individual holdings. Further to this, Rimoldi (1966:62, 95) observes that plots are often permanently transferred outside the direct patrilineal line, and this applies equally to [578] land under both cash and subsistence crops. In the Inonda area, however, Crocombe and Hogbin (1963:73-5) observe that there is considerable reluctance to plant, or make land available for planting cash crops if the land has not been acquired patrilineally, for fear of subsequent disputes. Thus the tenurial situation may be of considerable significance in the development of cash cropping.

245 428 Traditional tree crops are not planted in stands or groups like cash crop trees, but are widely scattered and may equally well be planted on patrimonial land or on land of affines or matrilateral kin. Inheritance of rights to trees usually does not involve rights to the land on which they stand. However, owing to their wide spacing, their presence rarely seriously affects other cultivation of the land.

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[1] The decision-making process has not been investigated but it appears that there is no institutionalised position relating to land matters. An exception is provided by the Yega of the Gona census division who recognise a 'land custodian' (see Dakeyne 1965:55).

[2] It is possible that this is an expression of the fact that sufficiently large areas of suitable secondary forest are not available [311] at any one time to permit contiguous cultivation. Two other factors [136] are that in low density areas wild pigs and other animals necessitate [417] the fencing of gardens, a task which is easier for contiguous groups than for individuals, and that in forest much wider fringe clearing is necessary than in low second growth. The volume of fringe clearing per garden is much reduced if gardens are contiguous.

438 consisted in the barter of shells, lime and wooden and clay pots
[437] from the coast in return for areca and feathers from inland. Clay pots, shells and feathers are now rarely traded and the coastal people hawk their produce, mainly smoked fish and lime, around the villages and at the markets for cash.

433 All the people's subsistence needs may be produced within the village or by kinsmen or friends in other, essentially similar, villages. The exchange system serves both as a form of group security, in that the aged or infirm or people with gardens temporarily out of production can rely on kinsmen or friends for support, and a means of exercising authority, through the manipulation of the flow of goods and services. Strictly speaking, however, there is no necessary dependence on the production or distribution decisions made by others. In the case of cash and storebought goods, the reverse applies. These originate outside the village economy and in most cases outside the country. Whereas, given the limits of time, resources and convention, a villager may produce as much of any garden or forest item as he desires, he cannot affect the quantities of cash or store goods available, or the rate (through wage and price levels) at which they may be obtained.

(b) The cash sector

434 The main sources of cash for Orokaiva villagers are the sale of
[443] cultivated produce, the sale of labour and remittances from kin in employment elsewhere. Since 1959, an additional source has been the ownership and operation of small stores, but so far only about twenty-five men (including some indigenes from other districts) have turned to trading. The relative significance of each source varies greatly from household to household within a village and within the sub-district. All occur irregularly and are highly unpredictable in the level of returns.

241 (1) Cash cropping. The cash crops of coffee, cocoa, rubber and coconuts occur in either individually-owned or communal holdings, the former under one of a number of land tenure systems, including customary tenure, the Higaturu Land Registration Scheme and the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance. Individual holdings tend to be
[578] small, frequently less than 0.5 acres in size and containing less than 250 trees. The communal holdings are larger, often exceeding ten acres, but, in some cases, they are not worked because of disputes over rights to trees and land. In other cases, they are operated by individuals on a rota system. Plantings are rarely weeded or trees pruned. This applies particularly to the communal holdings, where individuals do not accept responsibility for maintenance. In the older rubber and coconut plantings many of the
[433] trees are self-sown. As well as lacking maintenance, in most cases

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

man-hours, to be a costly failure.[1] During February and March 1964, some 361 man-hours were spent in cleaning the garden preparatory to planting. The major task of clearing the area had been done the previous year. The immediate cause of the scheme's failure was friction between villagers over the crops to be planted in the garden - the councillor insisted on coffee, cocoa and rubber, while most of the others favoured coffee only. Regardless of this aspect, the episode illustrates some of the problems of communication between the external agencies and the indigenous people.

Preparations in the latter part of 1964 to move the village to the new site were precipitated in part by the belief that, if located near the end of the new and improved access road (the jeep road from Awala running through Sivepe having fallen into disuse during 1964), the sale of their produce would be made more easy.[2] However, because of the uncertainty surrounding the move, several households had by the end of the year stated their intention of remaining in the existing village.

The complexity of the cash cropping situation in Sivepe precludes drawing a clear distinction between cash croppers and non-cash croppers. As Table 4:4 shows, there are various forms and degrees of involvement in commercial agriculture and every household participates in some way. Distinctions drawn on the basis of individual holdings can be most misleading. For example, the head of household 15 is an active cash cropper, although he has no commercial trees of his own, whereas another man, with 77 coffee trees, did not work them at all during 1964. While older people tend merely to assist primary kin and appear to receive little direct payment, others are involved in various ways.

(d) Monetary assets

Individual holdings of money and other property reflect the use of past income and illustrate the extent of investment and changes in material culture.

The monetary assets of 11 households at the end of the survey amounted to $208.60 (see Table 4:5), 26.9 per cent ($56.10) in cash

[1] It is assumed that communal clearing and subsequent subdivision into individual holdings had been recommended. In the Sivepe case, the councillor had apparently failed to grasp that subdivision should follow clearing. Two householders claim to have been prevented from establishing individual coffee plantings by him because of this misunderstanding.

[2] See pp.34 and 37.A According to a local planter, the Army Engineers (engaged at the time on public works in the Northern District) promised to provide a weekly truck to Popondetta market if the people built a new road.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]

A,[See Category 491, pp. 34-37--Analyst]

and two walked over the Owen Stanleys to Port Moresby in search of work. Two of the remaining three are still at school at Sasembata, leaving only Rodney Gill at home. The fact that he has not already left probably reflects some latent sense of obligation towards his parents.

After completing standard 4 at Sasembata, Rodney Gill went to stay with his married sister near Port Moresby for several months but he has never been employed outside the village. Nevertheless, he is frequently away for several weeks at a time, particularly at Sangara. Even during the survey period he was absent on 17.9 per cent of potential survey days, or 34 days in all. During 32 of these he was on an unbroken visit to Sangara assisting a settler construct a house, for which he received $6 and his keep.

Two months after returning to Sivepe he obtained work at Sasembata mission station, helping to erect new class-rooms for a salary of 80c per month. Disillusioned by the small wage he left after three months; nevertheless this work was the most important category in his total activity pattern. Since his parents have no cash crops and Rodney Gill has made no attempt to establish his own, the little cash cropping he does, 0.4 hours per week, is confined to assisting his brother Cecil King with his coffee.

Rodney Gill spends only 32 per cent of his time on productive subsistence tasks, compared with the sample mean of 65 per cent, and his contribution to subsistence gardening is particularly slight. Like other youths, he prefers to spend his time hunting and fishing, and for him other subsistence food production is the main subsistence activity. During the survey Rodney Gill rebuilt, almost single-handed, the single men's house in which he sleeps and also gave Cecil considerable assistance in rebuilding his house.

In general the productive tasks available in the village which appeal most to young men are those which occur irregularly or which can be done on impulse, have an important recreational aspect and have associated with them obvious shows of skill or strength. Their most popular leisure pursuits are parties and dancing to guitars. Rodney Gill spends more time fulfilling social obligations than any of the other individuals considered - 6.0 hours a week - yet 75 per cent of this was attending parties. Although most youths seldom have much money to spend on food and alcohol at these gatherings, the guitar music, singing and dancing pursued unrelentingly through the night appeal to them. Modelled as they are on expatriate festivities, and given an element of inter-village rivalry with

517 [177] [578]

competing guitar groups, parties also provide a means of making contact with the opposite sex.

512 [177]

Apart from attendance at church services, meetings of all kinds attract the young men and account for 32 per cent of the time spent with the external agencies. Rodney Gill also frequently attends Kasembata clinic, undoubtedly being attracted by the young people working there. Finally, he spends the very substantial amount of 6.4 hours on other activities, 44 per cent on recreations such as football, and 47 per cent in rendering assistance of various kinds to the researcher.

512 461

In general, while Rodney Gill has an above average activity week, the way in which he allocates this time manifests a general lack of concern with or involvement in the village economy. His interest is largely confined to pursuits which have an important recreational value or where his participation is passive, as in church services or meetings. Such behaviour is not untypical of the young unmarried men and while it partly reflects their not yet having assumed adult responsibilities it is also associated with a sense of malaise with village life.

887 512

Umbahapa. Umbahapa is over 55 years of age and the oldest resident of Sivepe. Apart from age, his activities are further restricted by being a widower and partially lame in one leg. Although living alone and cultivating his own gardens, he depends to a great extent on a married daughter resident next door, particularly for his meals and for harvesting produce from his gardens; a younger sister, Linton's mother, also helps him. Without cash crops, and his non-traditional experience restricted to acting as a war-time carrier between Kokoda and the coast, Umbahapa is of necessity a member of the 'old' generation. He has no cash income and does not participate in any cash-producing activities.

Umbahapa's activity week comprises only 29.4 hours, his efforts being directed almost exclusively to the subsistence sector. Disregarding household tasks (since his daughter prepares most of his food for him), his productive efforts are possibly adequate to meet his food requirements, although none of his gardens were in production when surveyed. The large amount of time expended on clearing (6.3 hours) is probably explained by Umbahapa's labour being less productive than a younger person's. The total of 12.5 hours spent on subsistence gardening approximates to the sample mean although the distribution of this

181 In his discussion of Orokaiva morality, Williams (1930:322) states that 'The group...contents itself with two main requirements - (i) material plenty, and (ii) internal concord. ...each virtue implies agent and reagent'. Three 'moral factors' are identified as working positively towards the achievement of this ideal: industry (the manifestations of which have been treated in Part II), liberality and helpfulness. A concern for mutual aid operates among members of the 'sympathy group' and is therefore only effective over a socially and geographically restricted area. Being an acephalous society, it is based on a reciprocal system whereby a prestation voluntarily made carries with it certain obligations and expectations.

431 In traditional Orokaiva society several types of prestations were identified, according to the scale, circumstance and nature of the obligation incurred, and many of them are still practised, albeit often in an attenuated form. The most common is termed osisa - the informal daily distribution of small quantities of cooked food within the village. No account is kept of the volume involved but equal participation by all households is expected, the only exceptions being the aged and the single men, with the latter being called upon to reciprocate with a labour service from time to time. Such distributions are primarily the women's responsibility. However the casual gifts of areca and lime, made by the men, fall within the same category.

796 The term hande, freely translated as 'generous', is applied more specifically to ceremonial distributions and feasts organised by the men.[1] They are normally characterised by the participation of agnates and affines from other villages and by the strict attention paid to the apportionment of gifts according to considerations of kinship, status and specific obligations being acknowledged.

626 Visoare are challenge feasts of an avowedly competitive and hostile nature made in connection with unresolved disputes such as encroachment on land, or the stealing and unauthorised killing of pigs. They generally occur at the inter-, but neighbouring, clan level and incorporate the powerful sanction of shame for the individual or group challenged. The procedure is for the party levelling the initial accusation to hold a feast, invite the other, make a gift of food to them, and then challenge them publicly to reciprocate with a feast of equivalent scale. A failure to match it can only result in humiliation.

431 The type of gift made as a gesture of friendship or appreciation, but not normally reciprocated, is known as umbare. Such gifts are

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[1] See p.26 for a description of the circumstances under which feasts are arranged.

A,[See Category 574, p.28--Analyst]

In five blocks rights were obtained by a man by adoption from two previous rightholders neither of whom had any surviving male children, and each of whom adopted this man in turn during his childhood. The two men belonged to different lineages. Another six blocks belonged to the Paru lineage which died out due to an absence of male heirs. The rights in five of these lands fell to a female member of the lineage and from her to a relative in a neighbouring village (the precise relationship is not known). His descendants transferred the rights back to a relative of theirs in the Jego'undi sub-clan of Inonda. It appears that individual rights are not retained for long if the holder is permanently resident elsewhere. Rights to the sixth block of Paru lineage land passed through a Paru female to her son in the Joremba'embo lineage of his father. It will be noted that Inonda lands have changed from one lineage to another firstly by adoption of a member of another lineage and secondly by transmission to the son of a female of the donor lineage. Such instances only occurred when there were no resident males in the direct line.

When a male is born to a current rightholder the child immediately becomes a potential joint rightholder in his father's land. His rights crystallize when he plants his first garden, usually at the time of his marriage. People claim that the first-born child has no rights superior to those of any other, but in the case of joint rightholding at least, he is recognized as senior, and as the spokesman and trustee in negotiations involving other groups. There were insufficient instances of brothers holding gardening land jointly to ascertain the precise nature of the elder brother's rights of control.

The enforcement of rights

In pre-contact times rights could be enforced by recourse to negotiation or arbitration by elders within the village, by direct aggression or by recourse to sorcery. Today direct aggression is illegal, and though it still occasionally occurs between individuals or small groups, it is no longer a very important deterrent. Sorcery is still widespread and the fear of it appears to be an effective deterrent to encroachment on the rights of the strong, though not necessarily on those of persons whose status is low. In the event of encroachment by another

villager it is said that the aggrieved party will place his <u>erahu</u> on the path leading to the land concerned as a warning to the offender. If he does not take heed the aggrieved will have recourse to sorcery or physical violence, or he may (less commonly) bring it before the assembled men of the village. If all are agreed on a course of action but the offender refuses to comply, he may be evicted. Two men of the subordinate subclan were threatened with eviction for alleged theft of produce shortly before our arrival. No further thefts occurred.

At present the only body with effective power to settle disputes is the Department of Native Affairs to which the people frequently have recourse. Just prior to our arrival one man had reported another villager for animal trespass and damage to his crops. The matter was settled by an informal payment of damages arranged in the presence of a member of the official patrol staff.

Current problems in relation to the enforcement of rights are discussed on pages 76-77.

CHAPTER 5 - LIMITATIONS ON PRODUCTIVITY

Features of the tenure situation which inhibit productivity

614 423 518 The overlapping claims of various clans and sub-clans cause uncertainty as to the rights of each, in particular with respect to lands planted with cash crops. To illustrate this point we will quote several examples. During our stay in the village one Inonda man had a temporary job as foreman in a nearby construction camp. Due to completion of a particular phase of the work some workers were dismissed by the European overseer and these included some Tandai'undi men. These men then came to Inonda village and reminded the foreman that Inonda was "their" land and that if he wanted to remain on it, he had better get them their jobs back. This foreman has no cash crops and claims the reason for this to be his fear of trouble with the Tandai'undi. With one exception, nobody has cash crops on Inonda land. The Inonda people dare not take the case to the Lands Commission in case judgement is given in favour of Tandai'undi, in which case the Inonda people could lose all their rights.(1)

614 423 425 518 Those Inonda people who have cash crops in production have planted them on the far side of the Girua river. The land where they are planted was occupied until about forty years ago by the Endehi'undi clan. The Endehi'undi were defeated in war shortly after European contact and the few survivors scattered to various villages where they took up permanent residence. This land was apparently abandoned and not used again until 1952 after the Mt. Lamington eruption when some people of the neighbouring Jau'undi clan of Hohota village cleared the bush and planted food gardens there. After the Mt. Lamington danger passed most of them returned to their home

(1) The Native Lands Commission in the Territory appears to have awarded title on a basis of historical precedent much more frequently than on current needs or recent arrangements. It would not be surprising if, in the event of a case before the Commission, rights were awarded to the Tandai'undi (in pre-contact times, of course, occupation of the land and the relative strength of the two parties would have been the main criteria).

village, but one who was married to an Andiriha woman remained and planted coffee. At his invitation, several Andiriha men from Inonda village planted coffee in the same area. They claimed that as the Endehi'undi had been defeated in war two generations previously and had not occupied this land since, and as the scattered remnants of the Endehi'undi were long since absorbed into other villages, their rights had lapsed. They maintained that the person who cleared the virgin bush after the Mt. Lamington eruption had valid rights to plant cash crops there, and was entitled to invite his relations to plant there with him. As an additional precaution, however, the first man to plant coffee there obtained the approval of the only member of the Endehi'undi living in Hohota. When another Endehi'undi man from Ururu village was widowed about two years ago, he moved into the household of an Andiriha man who has coffee on this land.

Of course there is no traditional precedent to apply to rights to cash crops, but after the coffee had been planted for nearly a year, some of the Endehi'undi went to the Administration and claimed that the land was theirs, and that as the coffee had been planted on their land without their permission, it was also theirs. An officer of the Department of Native Affairs brought the parties together and it was ultimately agreed that the coffee planters could continue to occupy the land provided that they paid the Endehi'undi for the land. The Endehi'undi were given about £16 in cash, pigs, traditional valuables and taro. The precise rights transferred by this exchange are not clear, and the participants have differing views as to their respective rights, for the Andiriha consider that they have acquired absolute proprietary rights, whereas the Endehi'undi maintain that they have not disposed of proprietary rights. It is perhaps significant that the Endehi'undi man from Ururu village, who was widowed about two years ago, was taken in to the house of one of the Andiriha men who has coffee on this land.

The Department of Native Affairs has no legal power to determine land disputes and the arrangement is accordingly

614 not legally binding.(1) In fact, however, the parties to this dis-
423 pute assume that the officer concerned does have the necessary
425 power to enforce the agreement, and thus it is effective for the
657 present, particularly as it has been reinforced by registration of
692 the land with the council. The Endehi'undi nevertheless intend
518 to re-assert their rights to this land at a later date. When they find that the existing arrangement is not binding, they may either simply revoke it or apply to the Lands Commission for reinstatement of their earlier rights.

614 Our third example concerns the Jego'undi sub-clan
423 of Inonda. Neither of the two adult members of this sub-clan
425 has planted cash crops. One of them had prepared ground for
518 planting cocoa on the site of his former food garden, but his right to do so was questioned by the Andiriha and he abandoned the attempt. As already explained, the Jego'undi are in a subordinate position to the Andiriha, and though their ancestor did contribute to the transfer of gifts at the time the Inonda people acquired their lands, their numbers are small and their status is low. Their continued residence in the village is thus dependent on their passive compliance with the wishes of the Andiriha leaders. They spoke of leaving this village for either of two other villages to which they are linked by ties of kinship and marriage, but they are aware that wherever they move their

(1) Officers of the Department of Native Affairs exercised widespread jurisdiction in land matters (and settled disputes in Inonda) until their power to do so was curtailed as a result of two important judgements. The first was a judgement made on 19th July, 1957, by the Court of Appeal in the case of Busin v. Havini in which it was ruled that although Regulation 59 of the Native Administration Regulations of New Guinea gave magistrates (usually in practice Native Affairs patrol staff exercising their magisterial functions) the power to decide the ownership of land, this power had been repealed by implication by the Native Land Registration Ordinance 1952, which provided that the ownership of customary land in both Papua and New Guinea could only be determined by the Native Lands Commission. This judgement made the situation in New Guinea identical with what it had always been in Papua i.e. that district courts could settle questions of land use but not questions of land ownership. On 8th April, 1960, however, in its judgement in the case Soape v. Westiki, the Supreme Court held that district courts could not make decisions about land use where such decisions were based on implied assumptions about the ownership of the land concerned. As most decisions about land use are based on assumptions about its ownership, the district courts have generally declined to handle any cases relating to land matters of any sort.

position will be insecure.

The man who resides in the village by virtue of the fact that two of his daughters are married to Andiriha men has been invited to plant coffee in Inonda but he considers the risk of future dispute too great to do so. He is therefore planning to return to his village of origin to plant cash crops and has already begun clearing there.

The one man who has planted cocoa on Inonda land did so, not on his own lineage land, but on that of another lineage which has no adult members at present. But the mother of the children whose lineage holds primary rights to the land has objected strongly and has succeeded in stopping him from expanding his plantings. One other Andiriha man staked out land and planted shade for cocoa, again on the same land of the other lineage mentioned, but has been prevented from planting.(1)

Partly as a result of the uncertainty of their tenure the villagers are again considering shifting the village site.(2) Several possibilities are being considered. Some wish to move to land held by an Andiriha sub-clan which lives at Hohota and which has close links with the Inonda sub-clan. These point out that they have no certainty of tenure for their cash crops on the existing land, whereas at Hohota there is land which is

(1) This dispute resulted from the fact that when the last adult member of the lineage died, his wife remarried and her new husband "adopted" her children. Those who moved onto the land reasoned that as the children had been adopted, the local branch of the lineage had died out and the land was available for use by any member of the sub-clan. The mother, on the other hand, claimed that the children would not inherit land from their adoptive father but from their born father. She won her point by threatening to complain to Native Affairs officers who, the villagers said, would undoubtedly have supported her.

(2) This is not the only reason for moving, and the prevalence of sorcery in the present location is felt to be responsible for the supposed excessive death-rate. (There has in fact been a decline in population from 60 in 1949, to 49 in 1957, 45 in 1960 and 45 today). The Allied Geographical Section (1942, Appendix G) gave the population as approximately 120 in 1942, but the accuracy of this figure is in doubt.

the undisputed property of the Andiriha - albeit a different sub-clan. The occupying sub-clan is said to be agreeable to the shift, partly because one of the Inonda families originates from a lineage of the sub-clan at Hohota. Another alternative is to move to Ajoro, the "home" village of the Tandai'undi clan. The Ajoro people are said to have invited them to come, and to have offered them land on which to plant their food crops. Some felt that residence with the Tandai'undi would reinforce their existing hold on the land they at present use, but others fear that if trouble arose between them and the Tandai'undi they may have to leave.(1)

A further possibility which has been considered is for the village to split - the Jego'undi going either to Mosou to occupy the land given them by their mother's brother or to Urio to join their mother's lineage, the Andiriha who originate from Hohota lineage removing there, and the balance of the Andiriha, who have close kinship links with the Ajoro people, moving there to live. A final possibility is to remove the whole village back near their food gardens at Inonda I. The actual outcome will no doubt depend on the internal relations between villagers and the external relations between this village and the others in the vicinity.

The past history of the Inonda lands and the current problems encountered with cash crop planting there indicate that there are serious tenure problems at the sub-clan level. It appears that the definition of sub-clan or village boundaries and the rationalization of land rights in such a way that only one clan, sub-clan or village has rights in any one area would be conducive to higher productivity and less dispute. The Native Lands Commission has the power to define boundaries and rightholding groups on the application of any of the parties claiming rights in an area. But in fact there is one Native Lands Commissioner for the whole of the Northern District (with a population of 51,000) and he is required to do his own surveying, collection of genealogies and clerical work without

(1) The people are clearly disturbed by the knowledge that the government survey recorded the Inonda land as "belonging" to the Tandai'undi.

assistance. The system of investigation followed by the Commission is very detailed, and accordingly in the period of three years since the Commissioner was posted to the district only about five disputes have been settled. Already 34 other cases are awaiting deliberation and many other disputants would take their cases to the Commission if an early decision was possible. Owing to the lack of staff it will probably be many years before they can be heard. The scale of the problem appears to be so vast that it may well be beyond the capacity of the Commission to cope with for many years to come.(1) To overcome the problem in a short time would require either tremendous expansion of the Lands Commission or delegation of authority to deal with such matters to local (and possibly indigenous) tribunals.(2)

In the meantime the area is left without adequate machinery for the definition of rights and the settlement of disputes. Indigenous leaders, whether councillors, clan heads or other elders have no legal right to determine disputes, and although they are frequently able to exert social pressure to have their decisions enforced, they cannot apply any legal sanctions. It seems that such decisions are frequently effective within the lineage or sub-clan because the leaders are in intimate contact with the disputants and can apply effective social sanctions. This is much less so with respect to disputes be-

(1) - Since this article was written, the Native Lands Commission has been joined with the existing Land Titles Commission to form a new Land Titles Commission. The enabling legislation (Land Titles Commission Ordinance 1962) was passed by the legislature in 1962 but was not assented to by the Governor General until April 1963. The new Commission has only seven commissioners to serve the whole of Papua and New Guinea.

(2) This is a widespread pattern elsewhere in the Pacific. For example, in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the Lands Commission is composed entirely of indigenous members, though the Chief Lands Commissioner (who is an expatriate official) sits with them on appeal cases. The Lands Commission in Fiji is comprised of a commissioner (who is usually a Fijian) and a number of Fijian assessors who are elected for the particular area by the Provincial Council. The Land and Titles Court of Western Samoa is comprised of a President (who is also Chief Judge of the High Court), not less than two Samoan judges and not less than one assessor. In practice, however, it more frequently sits with three Samoan judges and two or more assessors who are usually Samoans.

614 tween sub-clans or villages.(1)
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[657]

Officers of the Department of Native Affairs are still in some instances able to effect reconciliations or to settle disputes despite their lack of legal powers. This is not only because disputants are sometimes prepared to accept the judgement of a disinterested third party, but also because almost all Orokaiva people we have met are of the opinion that patrol staff do have the power to enforce their "recommendations". The fear of sorcery is still recognized as a sanction against transgression of property rights and informants quoted instances of sorcery having been used to punish transgressions of fishing rights. It is a commonplace that where adequate alternative facilities for settling disputes are not available, sorcery tends to increase. Though it is certainly extant in Inonda we have no evidence to indicate whether it is increasing or not.

614 423 518 626 754

The definition of boundaries and owning sub-clans would increase social stability and security of tenure, but in the course of time, due to population increase in some clans and decrease in others, it would become increasingly unrelated to clan needs. It is therefore necessary that any action to define boundaries and ownership should be associated with facilities for the transfer of rights between clans, or between individual members of different clans.

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721 425

In the pre-contact era warfare was probably the most important means by which major areas of land were transferred between descent groups, and when warfare is abolished it is essential that alternative facilities for land transfer be provided. In many colonial territories where warfare previously tended to bring land areas into line with population numbers, colonial governments have abolished warfare but have not provided adequate alternative means of transfer, and this invariably leads

(1) Disputes between sub-clans or villages are sometimes settled by the Executive of the Higatura Council. They have no legal power to enforce decisions, but they are often able to persuade parties to accept their advice.

241 Later again, in line with an agricultural officer's recommendation,
472 he encouraged each son to plant individually. He proposes that his
512 gardens should be inherited by his sons jointly, with work and
423 profits being shared by them.

428 B's bachelor brother speaks of the cash crops as B's even though both have worked on them equally together, but says that B 'looks after' financial and other matters on his behalf. Whichever of them dies first the other will inherit, but when both die the assets will be inherited by B's only surviving son, a former teacher who shares no interest in cash-cropping.

C claims sole rights to his plantation on the ground that he has compensated his brothers for their help with gifts and by assisting them to establish their own cash crops. There is reason to believe, however, that if C dies before his children are adult, his brothers will probably claim a share. Some other people of [578] C's village regard the plantation as belonging to several sub-clans jointly and their challenge to his rights was a real threat until he was issued a formal lease.

492 D has no younger brothers, but he did have a government loan
241 (though it was not intended for hiring labour). With the loan
464 and gross profits from his store (see p.11 ff.) he has hired a total of seven workers at various times. As with the labour [654] occasionally hired by the other entrepreneurs, they have all left within a few months of engagement. The employers give no adequate explanation for this and, as I have been unable to contact the former employees, the reasons can only be postulated. In some cases the employer has had insufficient money to pay them but this has not always been the case. Almost all employees have come from twenty to a hundred miles away and most are from different language and culture groups from the employing entrepreneurs. This may well [466] be due to the fact that the employer-employee relationship, with [591] its clear-cut subordination, has no traditional precedent and is incompatible with Orokaiva notions of appropriate interpersonal relationships. New relationships of this kind are probably easier to establish with strangers and outside one's own community.

Since his attempts to engage permanent paid labour were not [621] successful, in recent years A has frequently arranged for the [602] people within his hamlet (his children, his brothers and their children, two father's brother's sons and all their spouses) to undertake short-term tasks such as clearing or harvesting. At the end of each task he compensates them in cash or store goods. None of the others has developed this sort of arrangement.

472 The entrepreneurs have all benefited from assistance given by
654 government officers. Before the war A marketed his coffee through the government and he speaks of the Resident Magistrate assisting him to import and install a coffee machine and open a bank account.

the price at which he bought (e.g. a knife bought at 87 cents would be sold at 90 cents).[1]

Irrespective of profits, stores are both a convenience and a source of considerable prestige to the owner.

No records of customers were kept, but from casual observation it appears that customers are either persons who are unrelated and not resident in the same locality or close kin and close friends. The more distant relatives and the residents in the owner's village often go to considerable trouble not to buy from the local entrepreneurs. They justify their avoidance with stories which depict the trader in a personally unfavourable light, though some point to the lower prices and wider range of goods in Popondetta, and others to the advantage of buying from local co-operatives which provide rebates and benefit everyone, rather than from private stores with higher prices and individual profit.

These arguments should apply equally to the customers of the entrepreneurs, but they do not seem to in practice. I assume that this is due to the fact that the entrepreneurs do provide credit, assistance with life crises and other advantages (including the attraction of close association with men of prestige) to very close friends and kin, but decline to provide these privileges to more distant kin and neighbours. These people feel entitled to special consideration and are affronted by refusal. C, the trader with the largest turnover, built his store in a village other than his own[2] and most customers come from that and three neighbouring villages. Most people of his own village of Hanau buy from a co-operative store further away. A's main clients are plantation workers, as most of his fellow villagers use the co-operative even though it involves a long walk. D's store was located on a main road until a re-routing of the road left him without his main source of clients - people walking along the road.

Since 1964, D has been buying cotton piece goods which his wife makes up on her sewing machine into skirts, dresses and shorts for sale in the store. Demand for these goods is greater than the supply and a girl is now hired part-time to assist with sewing.

A, B and D sell small quantities of garden produce or hunted meat at irregular intervals at the Popondetta market.

A undertakes commercial processing for other persons, having established a cocoa fermentary with the help of agricultural officers in 1962. The building cost $500 from his savings and an

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[1] Having limited experience in handling money most of the entrepreneurs round prices to the nearest ten cents as far as possible.

[2] The other three all have their stores adjacent to their homes.

Security of tenure

423 241 [182] [829] It is often suggested that the main benefit from tenure conversion is the provision of security of tenure for villagers who wish to plant cash crops. The Ombi-Tara people, however, did not consider security of tenure as a major benefit of conversion. They explained that each man had previously held individual rights to land which were sufficiently secure for him to plant cocoa and coffee. A man could plant such cash crops without consulting the clan leader or other members of his clan, and without others disputing ownership of the crop or distribution of the proceeds. [578] Fourteen people did mention that conversion and the introduction of cement and wooden corner pegs would help to prevent disputes; but they felt the disputes to have been caused by the previous small size of individual plots which sometimes made it difficult for a man to extend his planting (because he would be encroaching on another's land); and to vagueness of boundary lines. Some also referred to the need to clearly mark out land boundaries to forestall potential encroachment by persons from outside Ombi-Tara.[1]

Consolidation of holdings

423 311 361 [829] Most Ombi-Tara people saw consolidation of their previously scattered holdings as the main benefit from tenure conversion.[2] Many people drew finger diagrams on the ground to explain how conversion led to consolidation. Under the traditional tenure system cash cropping involved long walks from village to food gardens and to cash crops.[3] Consolidation not only reduces walking time, but also allows an individual to undertake large-scale planting in a single area. He was previously unable to do this because of the small amount of land he held in each plot, and in some cases because of the small total amount of land to which he

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[1] In contrast to the Ombi-Tara situation Crocombe and Hogbin (1963:72-80) found in another Orokaiva village that lack of security of tenure was a factor discouraging certain individuals from planting cash crops.

[2] Mentioned by thirty of the thirty-seven blockholders interviewed, including the four most influential people - Charles, the two clan leaders and the Local Government Councillor. These people should be distinguished from the 20 per cent or so mentioned earlier for whom the innovation of conversion was less significant than the change to planting rubber.

[3] Waddell (1966:7) found in another Orokaiva village that time spent travelling to and from places of activity was about 15 per cent of the total time devoted to that activity.

423 'communal ownership', which is sometimes applied to indigenous land tenure, is misleading and must be qualified. New Guinea land tenure may best be understood as a pattern of rights of usage. For example, a man who is the first to venture into a patch of rain forest and mark distinctive trees thereby acquires the right to hunt in that forest area; if he clears the forest he acquires the right to cultivate that land. These rights are inherited by [428] his descendents. Thus individual adults control the rights to hunt, forage or cultivate on all land, and, incidentally, to fish in the streams which traverse their land. But each individual [619] is also a member of a closely cohesive parish[1] group, to which he owes absolute loyalty. The parish group, through its sub-groups, clans, lineages, and individuals, controls a certain area of land. It was inconceivable in the traditional days of inter-parish warfare, that any land should be given or sold to the neighbouring enemies. Under traditional custom, no individual could sell freehold title to land; at most he could permit the temporary use of land by a stranger on the full understanding that he as a lender retained the permanent rights.

[578] New Guineans are just as conscious of their individual rights to the use of land as we are, and many disputes occur because of real or imagined infringements of a person's rights. Land boundaries in New Guinea are rarely marked by fences. More commonly they are indicated by distinctive trees, rocks, or very often by bright-leaved shrubs such as croton or cordyline. Land holders have what is, to us, an almost uncanny knowledge of the location of their boundaries. A villager can lead you unerringly through thick secondary growth to his boundary mark and can point out, for instance, the almost imperceptible rise in the level of the land marking the line of a pig-fence, now completely rotted away, which bounded his swidden several years earlier.

[1] The term 'parish' may appear unusual in this context. It is used in the sense in which it has been adapted by Dr. H. I. Hogbin (1953) that is, the largest group of people forming a political unit. Hogbin denies the existence of tribes in New Guinea (with the possible exception of some of the large highland groups). He applies the term parish to numerically-small political groups.

[P 2-87]

602 Kinship groups are of major importance in the functioning of village society in New [619] Guinea. Every individual is a member not [614] only of a parish but also of groups of closer [613] kin, a clan, and maybe a lineage. Lacking any system of payment in cash for services rendered, the villager obtains the assistance of his 602 relatives for heavy work such as the felling of 464 big trees to make a swidden, dragging a canoe 476 log to the beach, or making a long seine fishing net. Obligations thus incurred are met either by reciprocating when asked or by making a gift. The kinship group provides 602 social stability and in practice the pattern of 311 land use is frequently decided by the senior 241 members of the group. The planting of food crops by any member, even on land to which he does not control cultivation rights, causes no concern because rights to temporary usage may be easily granted, but the planting of tree crops, which may remain in the ground from thirty to eighty years, is a different matter. Planting tree crops is tantamount to alienating the land for at least a generation and very often some members, at least, of the kinship group object to such long-term use. Even if they do agree to an individual member planting tree crops, there is almost always the assumption that he must share any profit he makes with other members of the group. Individuals who have planted cash crops under these conditions generally become discouraged when they see the fruits of their labours being reaped by kinsmen who contribute little or nothing towards production.

659 In its attempts to stimulate production of 423 cash crops by indigenes, the Administration 177 has approved a series of land tenure laws, the last and most radical of which was passed in 1964 providing for the registration by indigenes of individual freehold title to land: a measure designed eventually to establish a European system of land tenure throughout the Territory. In the meantime, such measures, by pitting traditionally conservative [578] people against the products of modern Western education, are a cause of internal conflict within indigenous society.

632 The establishment of towns, unknown be- 177 fore the coming of Europeans, has forced an even more drastic adaptation than have the

[P.3-A]

for short periods as indentured labourers on the newly-established European plantations or on the wharves of Port Moresby or Samarai. Most men sampled the novelty for a short time but quickly returned to the village; some showed little interest in the wider life introduced by the white men but a few were greatly influenced and spent years away from home in paid employment such as the Papuan Constabulary.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The Yega constitute a social and political unit and regard themselves as separate and distinct from the similar groups around them, even though all speak mutually understandable dialects of the same language. Each of these groups may therefore be termed a parish. Before the enforced abandonment of warfare early this century, these parishes lived in a situation of constant enmity and changing military alliances. In the absence of effective natural barriers on the plain, each group concentrated upon the production of its food supplies as close as possible to its home villages; tracts of forest which served as hunting areas and as reservoirs of wild food and building materials also served as 'no man's lands' surrounding the territory of each parish group. As hunting rights to these forest areas were obtained by daring individuals who ventured far into them, near the swidden areas of neighbouring groups, it is not surprising that such

[P.5-B]

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claims by two or more groups frequently overlapped (Fig. 2). Because of this situation,

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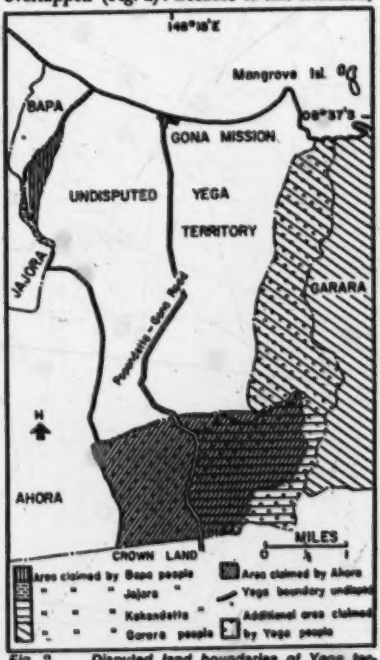

Fig. 2. Disputed land boundaries of Yega territory. (Redrawn from an original map by the Land Titles Commissioner, Popondetta.)

[P.6-A]

a Land Titles Commissioner today has the difficult task of adjudicating the rival claims of two or more groups to the same areas of forest land; each group can, moreover, produce men who can point out the trees marked by their ancestors and each group is convinced that they alone are in the right and the others merely conniving liars, who will use any methods to steal the land. The intensity of feeling which people generate over land became evident one day when I attended a meeting called by the Land Titles Commissioner to discuss rights to a small area between the Yega and a neighbouring parish. As my Yega friends and I left at the conclusion of the meeting we came on a group of Yega men in the bush fifty yards from the meeting site; they had prepared a supply of sharpened 8 foot poles 'just in case', they said, 'the others started a fight over the land!' Doubtless the other side was similarly prepared.

The Yega parish is composed of eight named, exogamous, localised clans most of which are divided into sub-clans and lineages; descent is patrilineal. On marriage, a girl leaves her father's house and goes to live in the house provided by her husband; in past times the couple invariably went to live in the same village as the husband's father, but nowadays the rules have been greatly relaxed. Each clan has a different totemic emblem which serves as a kind of trademark. If the totem is an animal or edible plant it may not be eaten for food.

An abbreviated table illustrating the Yega social structure is given in Table 1.

[P.6-B]

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

731 that was uppermost in the people's minds—to return to an environment of their choosing. In many cases families had been separated. Many close relatives had been killed, and in some cases it was not known whether such relatives were alive in other camps or not. Although short visits to old villages and gardens were sometimes permitted, the devastation that was seen there was always worrying, and time was not long enough for anything to be done about it. The future was uncertain; and there was always the underlying question, often expressed, "Will the volcano blow up again?" Although the people showed no signs of nervousness in the danger area, they are still not confident that our assurances of their safety outside the perimeter are correct—we have made mistakes before.

[158] It is perhaps surprising that, given this worry and tension, and an apparently highly-strung people, there were not more cases of mental derangement. Those cases I enquired about proved to be either long-standing affairs or temporary disturbances which seemed to pass. On the other hand, there was much excitement in the camps, and quarrelling and violence. Every move of the administrative staff was watched with interest, crowds would gather to hear the latest news. The presence of large squads of native police in the camps led to friction, sometimes over women, sometimes through a general resentment at being ordered about. [684] Court cases, and administrative cases settled out of court, were mainly charges of violence against wives. Some of these were led up to by sexual misbehaviour, but in many cases it seemed that there was nothing more than irritability over some [961] domestic misdoing, such as being late in carrying water. Children were frequently cuffed and beaten, and I often saw little wrongdoers being hurried away by older brothers or sisters to prevent a visitation of parental wrath.

731 This general irritability was carried back into the villages, where worry was not very much less than in the camps, and even the degree of daily control by European 657 authority was maintained as far as possible. For here administrative officers tended to enter into the minutiæ of daily life, marking the spots where the houses had to go, decreeing the layout of the village, often when the people thought they would be [578] better employed elsewhere. An example of village violence occurred in the new Popota while I was there. At this time women with small children were expected to remain at Ilimo camp until husbands had built them adequate shelters. Many of the women resented this, and some slipped into the bush and back to their husbands. In this particular case the baby lost a little weight when it returned to the village. The husband told the woman that she should have stayed near the clinic in camp. The women, resentful at this lack of appreciation of her presence, lost her temper and rushed at her husband with a knife. The husband swung at her head with an axe, and mother and baby ended up in a Mission dispensary which had been set up some distance away. To my mind this incident sums up many of the relevant points—the impression made by the new services, the urgent desire even of the women to be getting on with the job, and the domestic tensions and irritability that resulted from the situation.

361 In the period from January, 1951-1967, the location of the villages now known as Sivepe and Inonda changed several times. In
[114] the Sivepe area settlements had always been unstable. Rimoldi has made a valiant attempt to reconstruct shifts of residence from the time of European contact to the present; involved though his reconstruction is, it probably tells only part of the story. In 50 years, the groups now represented in Sivepe had between them been involved in shifts of residence between a series of 14 village sites within an area of about two square miles adjoining the Sohu
[659] River. It is clear that the government carried out some village consolidations in the district after the second world war, but before the eruption. Most of the people now living at Sivepe were, at that time, shifted to a village called Pamba, which had been occupied earlier by the Seho clan only. After the eruption, Pamba was at first reoccupied, but soon the village was shifted almost a mile away, to a place which was called Sivepe. This new village (see Map V)[A] differed from the pre-eruption one in layout, method of house construction and spacing of the dwellings. It conformed to the model advocated by the administration and observed by the refugees when they were at Wairopi and Ilimo. In 1965, Sivepe was shifted to its present site, and higher building standards and better sanitation were again introduced (see Map VI).[B]

[578] Both these shifts were connected with topographical relation-
[628] ships and social relationships outside the village. The first of them, in 1952, seems to have been precipitated by a quarrel between the Tiwanu clan of Pamba and the resettlement village of Kongohambo, which then had a population of almost 1,000, over garden damage caused by pigs. Sivepe was much farther away from Kongohambo than Pamba. The second shift was in the opposite direction. It was a move which brought the village closer to the road, closer to the mission, and the reduced distance from Kongohambo no longer mattered as this is now a village of average size, with which good relations exist. The people who lived in Kongohambo in 1952 have returned to their homes closer to the mountain.

These shifts in village sites are accounted for by almost a
361 superfluity of reasons. Rimoldi was told of almost all the shifts
657 he recorded that they were made upon the instructions of the government. I was told of shifts that were made because of deaths
361 attributed to sorcery and because of quarrels between neighboring villages which were too close together for comfort. I witnessed
[628] one shift after a death of an old man where sorcery was not
[754] suspected (as he was old) but being unbaptised he could not be buried in the Christian cemetery which made people fearful of his
[764] ghost. The population of this village shifted to nearby Hohorita,
[775] a move which was in any case favoured by the government. A reason that was also sometimes given was that the houses were all old and the place was becoming unsanitary. A reason never explicitly given, but perhaps as important as any other is the Orokaiva's dislike for

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 5--Analyst]
B [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 6--Analyst]

628 together, the church council, with representatives from all the
631 villages, deliberated together. This cooperation was a gradual
731 development occurring over the years under consideration; it will be traced in detail in a later chapter. The setting up of wards under the Higaturu Local Government Council led to further occasions
[794] for formal cooperation between villages belonging to the same ward.
[797] It was characteristic of both the church and the government council organizations that they divided the Sasembata district into areas with definite boundaries, each area comprising several villages. The church recognized two such divisions, the government council three. I have already emphasized that the idea of such boundaries
[192] was a novel one (see Map IX).[A] It is beginning to have two kinds of effect: first, the strengthening of bonds between villages within the same ward or the same section of a mission parish (e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Isoge, which up to now have not been closely allied) and secondly, the loosening of bonds between villages divided by the boundaries which are now being defined (e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Kongohambo, hitherto closely allied, but now separated by administrative procedures).

These generalizations will be documented below; my task at
628 present is to consider contacts between Sivepe and closely allied
423 villages arising out of the eruption and relocation. Here inter-
578 village cooperation was a far less significant factor than inter-village competition, especially for use of the land. One of the deep anxieties of the Orokaiva in the refugee camps and later in resettlement villages such as Irihambo, Avala, Kongohambo was that if the people did not return to their land, some others might decide to occupy it and it might be impossible to dislodge them. This was a very real danger because neither in 1951 nor at present is there in existence a land register from which the ownership of individual or village parcels may be unequivocally established. The Orokaiva plant boundary trees round their blocks of land and
[685] there is a taboo on interfering with these. This is not merely a supernatural taboo; interference with a boundary justifies a killing. It is far less clear, however, just what rights a person holds in a particular parcel. As this is a crucial issue in the whole history of Orokaiva resettlement, I should explain this in some detail.

Crocombe and Hogbin provide an excellent example of the
423 ambiguity of Orokaiva land rights. After wars with the Sangara,
613 both the Andiriha and the Tandai'undi clans were driven from their villages and settled down together in a village named Sambogo.
[621] Later, some of the Andiriha set up Inonda on land to which the Tandai'undi had superior rights. At present, this land is used by Andiriha, and upon inquiring into the legal basis of tenure I was given the following explanation. Two daughters of the Tandai'undi owner's lineage married into Andiriha and were given the Inonda
[428] land to "look after." As is usual among Orokaiva, this right to

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 8--Analyst]

731 with some knowledge of anthropology. All these authors, following
361 F. E. Williams, had the impression that Orokaiva clans are corporate
423 groups and that the local clan groups are segments of these. Thus,
657 Plant and the others imagined that the Jegase of Sui (near Awala) would share their land without reservations with the Jegase of Sivepe, that the Seho of Awala would share their land with the Seho of Sivepe, and so on. The Orokaiva, however, knew that their position in the resettlement villages would be weak indeed unless they retained their own village holdings. This weakness will become more apparent from my discussion of the resettlement village of Hununi in a later chapter.

628 The closely allied villages, therefore, are not only a source
423 of cooperation but also competition. Seho returned and had no trouble reasserting their rights; they accepted with good grace that their neighbors had built their village partly on Seho land and that the mission station had partly been built on it, but they jealously guarded the rest of their holdings. Let us now consider the specific variables listed in the previous section.

628 Transactions between members of closely allied villages occur in kinship and friendship roles; decisions affecting the villages as corporate groups are taken at a meeting where all adult men of the affected villages are present, and have a right to speak. Visits between the villages by individuals occurred almost every day; formal meetings involving Sivepe and one of the closely allied villages occurred, for one reason or another, about once a month. The occasion might be a death, a bride price, a minor dispute, some government or council or church project. Contacts were equally close between young and old, males and females. Meetings occurred in the villages, or, more casually, outside them. [578] There is much affection between people of closely allied villages and one finds that disputes between them, though giving rise to a great deal of heated oratory, are not rashly allowed to get out of hand. The disputes I witnessed were all resolved amicably and serious breaches carefully avoided. On the other hand, neighboring [574] villages were always treated with much reserve. Before the eruption, they never ate together except under the formal conditions of a feast; even today, when a feast is held at the mission station for all the villages in the parish, each village sits apart in a separate group. When people from different villages eat together in a formal feast, each village house has its own little group of guests, who are either kinsmen or in a partnership relation. Transactions between such persons nonetheless have a greater fiduciary element than [754] transactions with other outsiders. Sorcery between closely allied villages occurs, but only, so I was told, by the employment of a professional sorcerer from a more distant village. No Garoubi man would act as sorcerer, so I understand, to kill a Sivepe man, but men from Isoge or Kendata could be found for such a service.

657 731 423 245 It is a ticklish question whether this rule similarly applies to coffee trees which differ from the traditional kind of trees in two ways: first, in that they occupy the whole of a piece of land and not just a few square feet of it and secondly, in that they are a source of cash income. The government was aware, from the beginning of the coffee scheme, that traditional Orokaiva law might be inadequate to protect coffee growers but balked before the huge task of giving all Orokaiva a legally registered title to their land. If this were to be done according to the principles of Australian law, it would involve expensive surveys, endless litigation and cost many times the value of the land, even if qualified personnel could be found to do the work. The Northern District administration therefore hit upon an ingenious dodge, by which the Higaturu Local Government Council, after summary investigation, issued declarations allotting land to persons who wished to plant cash crops. These declarations, made and witnessed by the clan elders, allotted the land to the grower in perpetuity. (For details see Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963: 89 f.) The practise of issuing these declarations was soon stopped by the authorities in Port Moresby who ruled that they have no legal validity, but Musumi is one place where they were issued.

657 731 423 578 629 After planting their coffee at Musumi, the Dapari people began to depend for their subsistence gardens on land they owned in their own natal district, which was an hour or so from Musumi. All the Dapari people, except for the Jegase clan group of Dapari, went back to their natal district to build a new village; the Jegase clan group was the only one to stay behind at Musumi. Their position was more favourable, as they owned land near Musumi; hence they had no reason to go back to Dapari. I met these Jegase people when they visited Sivepe to receive brideprice. They told me then that one Musumi man had made a large gift of land on which all the Dapari people grew their coffee. The Jegase group was growing coffee there without being disturbed by anyone, nor were they ever asked for payment. On the other hand, the owner wanted his land back from those Dapari people who had left to build their own village. But this group insisted on holding on to their coffee plantation; they stayed at Dapari and had subsistence gardens there, but they returned to Musumi from time to time to look after their coffee. They claimed they were entitled to do this because they had been registered as owners in the Higaturu Council declarations. Thus a conflict developed, in which Musumi relied on traditional custom whereas Dapari relied on a (legally invalid) kind of certificate of title. In this quarrel, the government could do little except hope it would blow over.

A New Zealand geographer, Mr. Peter Aitkins, who made a study of this area (unpublished), told me that the Musumi people had begun harvesting coffee from the Dapari-planted plots. My own investigation showed that nothing was ever stolen from the Jegase clan group (who had not left Musumi) and that Dapari had offered to sell the coffee stands to the Musumi owner of the land, and that the owner was prepared

657 to buy, but there was no agreement on the price. Thus the thefts
731 seem to be a stratagem to get Dapari to agree to a lower price.
The first lesson we may draw from this example is that evidently,
473 resettlement villages are liable to be unstable unless the resettled
group has solid land rights close to the village. Thus, the resettle-
[578 ment of a group of Garoubi people in Sivepe in 1966 may well be stable
628] because these people own land within a one-mile radius from Sivepa.
But the resettlement of Dapari people in Humuni was unstable because
the Dapari land was more than one mile away. In fact, the distance
between Humuni and the Dapari lands could not have been much above two
miles, but this is still too far for subsistence gardeners. It is
therefore clear why Sivepe people did not agree to stay at Awala after
1951: their land was between two and four miles away from Awala, and
this was regarded as an excessive distance. In the light of the events
at Humuni, we would be wrong to regard this attitude as "traditional"
and "opposed to modernisation;" it was a shrewd assessment of the
drawbacks of resettlement villages.

657 In the first phase of resettlement, the government took a
731 predominant part. Before evacuees could leave Ilimo, they had to
agree to resettlement in one of a number of villages which were to be
developed according to modern principles. The government took pains,
however, to work out the details of resettlement in consultation with
local Orokaiva leaders. Nonetheless, arrangements such as the sending
of the Jegase of Isivita to Kongohambo, in the hope that they would be
helped by local Jegase clan groups, were not based on a realistic
assessment of the possibilities. This agreement was easy to get as
it was seen to be a necessary condition for leaving Ilimo camp.
Resettlement plans were thus imperfectly adapted to the traditional
relationships between the groups concerned.

621 In the second phase of resettlement, many of the groups allocated
731 to the scheduled list of resettlement villages branched off to villages
of their own. This process started almost at once and continued for
657 more than five years. I have already stated that in Sivepe this phase--
the withdrawal from Awala--took place in the years 1951-1952, while
at Hohorita, Bagevaturu, Kiorota, Seva, Dapari it happened a good
deal later. In this second phase, the participation of the government
was much less active. In Sivepe, a patrol officer made a decision as
to the site of the village and the groups to be contained in it but
this was only after half the people had already lived in Pamba for
some time and a quarrel with neighbouring Kongohambo had broken out,
and when the Seho people were returning to the area.

The history of the settlement of Kiorota and Bagevaturu may
be traced from a file of the Department of District Administration,
Popondetta (12-3-2A). As already mentioned, the Isivita evacuees,
numbering 1,869, were "re-established" in the resettlement villages
of Kongohambo and Koipa. Soon disputes began to arise owing to the
insufficiency of land--villages such as Sivepe could give only limited
help in the way of lending gardening lands and marauding pigs were

794 and sang hymns and gossiped. Once a week, or at least as many weeks
575 as there was no obstacle to holding a meeting, they went to women's club, did some sewing, discussed club affairs and played basketball. The older women did not like the basketball and were not interested in the innovations that were talked about in the club. They only attended women's club on special occasions. There was a contribution of 2/- per month which was generally paid only by the younger women.

Shortly after our arrival, a conflict developed between the club and the school. The head teacher objected to the noise made by the women, who spent the mornings sewing in the clubhouse which was on the station and then played basketball on the school ground in the afternoon. He could not get the students to pay attention to the lessons on the women's club day--which at that time was regularly every Tuesday. He suggested the women should build a club house away from the station. The pastor agreed with this suggestion, much to the rage of his wife, who was club president.

[554] The effect of this altercation was a plan to build the club house in Sivepe, the nearest village, and play basketball there. The Sivepe women were delighted, as this greatly increased their status in the club, not only vis-à-vis the other villages, but also vis-à-vis the mission women, hitherto the aristocrats. For the next two weeks after this, the women met very frequently, as the decision to build in Sivepe, though wholly agreeable to the pastor, was mortifying to his wife and jealously regarded by the women from the other villages. At these meetings it was less important what was discussed than by whom they were boycotted. The mission women continued to argue against the decision for a further fortnight, with several meetings failing through lack of attendance. Meanwhile, school boys carried the materials of the old club house from the station down to their village, and Sivepe men cleared a handsome site for the club-house and erected the posts.

794 The mission women now withdrew from the club and asked for their
575 membership fees back, which they were given. It appeared that their quarrel was not so much with Sivepe but with the Sasembata village
● 578 women. Most of the land used by mission teachers belonged to that village; the Sasembata women thought, with some justice, that the
628 mission women were not sufficiently diligent in their garden work. It was customary for all school children to bring one taro to school each week and also each family brought some taro to Sunday service. This food was in part distributed among the mission teachers. The Sasembata women took the view that these gifts to teachers were necessitated only by the laziness of the teachers' wives. The latter countered this abuse with the argument I have already mentioned, viz. that it was necessary for coastal people to teach among the Orokaiva because the Orokaiva were too barbaric and ignorant to have teachers of their own.

The men soon lost interest in the building of the clubhouse. It was not easy to understand why they lost interest; when I asked them they pointed out that some of the houses in the New Sivepe had not

794 yet been completed (which was true) and that these ought to have
575 priority. The women then became impatient; after which they explained
578 to me that the women had talked to them insolently and they had told
628 them to build the house themselves (which was a male task; it would
[462] have been unthinkable that women would have dared to do it). The same men devoted most of the following two months on building the mission hospital, so that their explanation did not hold water. The most likely explanation is that the men felt disinclined to build a clubhouse that was clearly going to be a source of conflict between themselves, the mission and other villages, such as Sasembata. They probably stopped work mainly in order to see whether the conflict would blow over and when their own women started to importune them, lost no time in withdrawing. I base this explanation more on attitudes observed at the time than on explicit informants' statements which were very guarded at this early stage of my research. (All this happened in our first month in Sivepe.) Basketball and meetings meanwhile continued at Sivepe, and sewing continued quietly at the pastor's house. The club was busy making uniforms for the basketball team. The next stage of the transactions between the station and Sivepe was much more subtle.

535 About three months before our departure from Sivepe, a mission
[123] teacher told me that his wife intended to teach Sivepe women a coastal
[197] women's initiation dance called the kere. This, he suggested, would be in our honour. My wife at once expressed much interest in joining in this dance. Nothing happened, of course, during lent but on April 1, the first week after Easter, the village fell dead silent early in the evening, everyone pretended to go to bed, the women slunk away somewhere and late at night all the women appeared dressed in white tapa cloths and tarpaulins, clearly impersonating spirits and performing a vigorous but most eerie dance, while all the men at first stayed indoors and the village remained otherwise in total silence.
[534] I even heard a flute, a highly sacred instrument which everybody continued to pretend was never played. The next evening the same performance was repeated; I then heard in conversations not intended for my ears that these dancers were the embahi (spirits). On the third day it was intimated to my wife that she might join. The "practises" (as they were now called) continued, though my wife never actually heard the flutes when she was dancing. After more than two months of almost daily practise, the kere was performed in public at the mission station, its character having been gradually transformed from a rite into a dramatic representation. Nonetheless, a careful observer could see elements of initiation ritual at all stages.

794 At all these practises, the mission teacher sat and watched
575 at the centre of the stage. His wife played the role of the teacher;
578 later, she asked an older woman, an expert from her natal village, to take over the leadership. The clearest sign of the continuing status battle was in the unending arguments on where the practises were to be held. Sivepe insisted they should be in the village but the station

794 women who had joined the group favoured another site: a small settlement
575 very close to Sivepe and the mission station and affiliated with
578 Sasembata village. They never suggested the "practises" should be held in the station. Indeed, although they proceeded night after night, usually from about 10:00 p.m. until well after midnight, the head teacher did not know about them almost until the end, until he drove home late one night and heard something (he did not know what) from the road. Some nights there was no practise because the two sides could not agree on a site. The men seemed to be somewhat irritated by the constant presence of a mission teacher in the village, in a conspicuous role of authority, over their own women. They countered by complaints about the "noise" which made it impossible for them to sleep. This made it easier for the Sivepe women to agree to practise in the next settlement, though they also practised near the house of one of the village dancing leaders who lived away from the complaintants and was sympathetic to the kere. In the end, the usual split did occur: the mission women did not actually dance with the group from Sivepe and Sasembata village, but pulled out and formed a second kere party together with Kongohambo women, under the leadership of the deacon's wife, who also knew this dance. Both parties performed in the final performance at the mission station.

These events definitely show the mission station as a cultural force, quite independently of the mission teachers' ecclesiastical or schoolmasterly role. Sivepe was willing to offer the mission station a certain amount of compliance, in return for the valued knowledge that was being supplied, but fought--with success--against the mission station's attempt to use to the occasion to place the village in a position of socio-political subservience.

Section 3: The Mission and Traditional Religion

771 The Orokaiva attitude to Christianity is a complex subject
776 which I intend to treat more fully elsewhere and falls somewhat outside
777 the concern of our present project. It is very clear that some basic notion of Christian montheism have not been accepted by the Orokaiva, such as for instance the notion of God's omnipotence. Orokaiva Christians believe in the existence of God and in His infinite power, but He is viewed as an addition to other powers, who is hostile to some of these other powers, but not necessarily to others. I was told that a person ought to give up black magic after baptism, but informants dismissed my suggestion that Christianity was also opposed to curing magic. No curing magician ever ceased practising when he was baptised.

777 I have referred several times to the tendency to place ancient
[788] ritual under the protection, so to speak, of the new God. Rituals
[775] connected with the taro cycle were performed at Christmas and Eastertime, perferably on the mission station. While the beliefs about the ghosts

665 the women's club there was a concern of the acculturated faction and
562 arguments about it were on factional lines. But in Sivepe, it was quite a novelty for the women to have a political cause of their own (they had to inveigle the men into building them a clubhouse) and they discussed the various ways in which they could exert pressure (refuse to sleep with them, etc.). All this was on a rather unserious level, although the secretary of the club, whose circumstances I have described, depended rather heavily on the club for a secure status in her new village. Later, when all the women were practising the kere every night, the same tug of war re-established itself. Traditionally, married women do not dance much or at all; some husbands grumbled because the wives did not stay home in the evening, came home very late, left them with the babies, made a "lot of noise." In all this, there was a feeling that the status of women was rising--and the mission encouraged this as well as the government. More important, the women were acting as a group, under a leader, which may not have been common at an earlier time.

To what extent can one speak, in these villages, of factionalism?
121 This term is used in a bewildering number of ways. Ralph Nicholas has recently tried to clarify it by five nominal propositions: according to him, factions are (1) conflict groups, (2) political groups, (3) not corporate groups. Faction members are recruited (4) by a leader and (5) on diverse principles. (1965: 27-29) Nicholas stresses that factions, in his sense of the term, lack the permanence of corporate groups, and that they may, in fact, arise in just one conflict situation, to evaporate again soon after. Alternatively, they may last for a very long time. I noticed a profound difference
665 between the working of factions among the New Zealand Maori and the
[171] Orokaiva. When a conflict situation arises among the Maori, including any disagreement at all between two persons of different families, familiar alignments at once reassert themselves. The lines of cleavage tend to be predictable; furthermore, a large number of people are apt
[578] to take sides along this predictable lines of division. Among the Orokaiva, each side tended to have only a small number of predictable protagonists. The rest would remain indifferent, and if the conflict became serious enough for them to participate, the alliances, at least in Sivepe, were hardly ever repeated from one occasion to the next. Factionalism in Sivepe was therefore, to a large extent, fugitive.

There were, of course, disputes that would divide the whole of a village along clan lines, or that would divide a larger body of contestants along village lines. I would tend, with Nicholas, to speak here of conflicts between corporate groups rather than factionalism.

Yet there are confusions here that still need to be cleared up. What Nicholas calls a "corporate group" is corporate only in respect of certain functions, even though these may be very diffuse, as in the case of kinship groups. But if conflict occurs over matters arising

CHAPTER X: Esprit de Corps

621 731 The problem of developing group consciousness in a new village, created by aggregating the population from several villages in one place, is a very considerable one under Orokaiva conditions. Each village group tends to be a tight unit and it is a long time before a feeling of unity will develop between the groups thus thrown together. In a place such as Hohorita, which consists of the remnants of about 12 villages, the creation of an esprit de corps (in Linton's sense, 1936: 92-94) is a lengthy and hazardous business.

I was able to observe the same situation in Siveps in 1966, though on a much smaller scale. Sivepe, as I mentioned before, consisted of a core of people who lived in Pamba before the eruption and two groups who arrived since, one from Binduta in 1956 and one from Garombi in 1966. The extent to which these groups have been "integrated" into the village will appear at once if one looks at the spatial [361] arrangement of the village. As I pointed out, the ideal plan of this village was an arrangement of two parallel facing rows. Now all the long-established families, with one exception, followed this plan, but none of the new arrivals did. The Garombi arrivals built on a piece of land just above the village, on land owned by a Sorovi man who stayed behind in Garombi. The Binduta arrivals built next to the Garombi ones, on attractive sites overlooking the rest of the village. None of them followed the house plan decided upon by the rest. Thus they gave all the appearance of a group apart, and the symbolic significance of such behaviour would never be lost upon the Orokaiva. When asked about this arrangement, people would describe it to me as temporary.

621 [431] In the daily presentations of food between residences, these families would most often send food to one another, rather than to other families in the village, but this was natural, as their own mutual ties were closest. At the same time, I recorded a reasonable number of gifts travelling from the top of the hill down to the village and conversely; there was certainly no rigid separation there. A number of kinship and friendship ties existed between the new arrivals and the older families; these ties were fostered by regular exchange [578] presentations of one sort or another. I have referred to one conflict between a Garombi arrival and a woman from the centre of the village. This was an isolated case, as there was no sign of conflict between the groups, nor did this flare-up lead to continued bad relations. One could say that an esprit de corps was gradually forming, and that the merger looked satisfactory.

621 684 On the other hand, the hazards were obvious when one looked at the settlers from Binduta. When conflict developed, as in the attempted rape case, the man from Binduta was in a weak position.

241 of "dry" gardening, with fire and the digging stick as the essential tools, and either long term rotation of previously occupied areas or breaking in of new forest land. "The immediate family . . . is a self sufficient unit" and "the Orokaiva words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same." Con-
621 sistent with this mobile economic base, settlements are rarely more than hamlet size, with "hardly more than a dozen houses" on the average. Materials for housing are readily available, so that residence can be easily shifted.

The hamlet is based normally on patrilocal-patrilineal principles of organization, with a known strong tendency for new groups to form by "hiving off." Clan affiliations are
[614] reckoned from quite recent ancestors, so that at times a given clan may all be in one settlement, though more usually scattered through several closely related settlements. The
592 generally monogamous family units are under the "immediate
62 authority of the father," while the affairs of the local living
622 units are under loose supervision by the hamlet and clan elders, centered on a "men's house" and working together, usually with one strong senior man as "leader." Personal
422 property consists of mobile goods such as tools and utensils, clothing, and body ornaments.

181 In spite of ethnic similarities over a wide region, Williams speaks of the Orokaiva as being a "more than usually quarrelsome and disunited people"—a strong statement to make in the New Guinea setting. Their pre-pacification history was marked by "feuds, dispersals . . . a veritable whirlpool of strife, migration, and counter-migration." Beaver, too, refers to their "turbulent and restless life . . . migration was, in
[154] the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing." Supernatural weapons in the form of sorcery were especially feared. Even for Papuans, the Orokaiva proved to be unusually
[562] hostile and resistant to whites. Women were often seen ac-
[726] companying the war parties, carrying food and weapons, and sometimes joining in fights. Williams goes on to say that
[628] while the "elementary small sympathy-groups" (the local kin and settlement units, and to a lesser extent the dispersed clan units) were tightly knit, their external relations were
[728] precarious. "There were peacemakings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no (settlement) lived in permanent security." "Hiving off" occurred sometimes
361 as the result of a "quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic,"
24 but more often it was "simply the lax method of horticulture
[578] which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site." Another factor could have been food scarcities which tend
361 to occur in exceptionally dry southeast winter seasons. During
261 this period, north and west Lamington area is in a rainshadow zone, and people may have to scatter out to live on wild
731 roots and fruits. The implication of this is that even the
165 excision of the 4,000 persons from the Orokaiva group who were killed involved no extensive shattering of valued ties.

361 Williams and others judge that with the modern pacifica-
178 tion, the Orokaiva have tended to disperse in even smaller living units than before. This appears to apply particularly
[499] to the relatively densely populated Lamington slopes, though a few instances of larger aggregations approaching a village type also occurred, particularly as a result of Mission influ-
361 ence. Over against this greater dispersal, the people have
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731 36 [657] to get out from under the direct control of Government and that everything was "subordinated to this end." Those who had title to land outside the closed area and wished to get to it, readily agreed to official plans for resettlement, including the village building program. Those whose land was inaccessible—too far off the road or in the danger area—attempted to obtain permission to occupy land of kinsmen or others who might be willing. The most immediate objective was to break in gardens and to reduce or eliminate the need for rations, emergency wild foods, or daily treks into the closed area for salvage produce. Here difficult problems are foreshadowed. This pattern of settlement will be possible only on a short term basis. For longer occupation the people will either have to scatter out in widening areas to make their further seasonal shifting gardens, or else make the radical change to sedentary gardening which has no appeal to most of them.

731 36 31 [161] The situation is made more serious by the fact that the safe land tracts are, in general, less fertile than the devastated higher slopes; these and comparable areas elsewhere do not carry such relatively dense settlement.[9] Mr. H. T. Plant, an officer with anthropological training, made a quick survey of land tenure and social structure in the resettlement zone on the Wairopi side. On this basis he estimated that with only about five acres at hand per person, or approximately 100 people to the square mile, the available land is inadequate by New Guinea standards to support the population. In April, Belshaw found that great uncertainty surrounded land use problems. There were frequent moves, uncertain titles, disputes over tenure, and conflicting authority among the hamlet and clan leaders. He predicted that it might take months to sort out the economic and social threads involved. It will take far longer to build up seed stock, domestic animal herds, and other bases for normal living, as well as the large quantities of food required for the proper ceremonies for the dead which will eventually be held. In due course other settlement areas than those immediately occupied will need to be found for people still in the camps.

731 152 [578] Government and Mission personnel were ready to offer judgements on Orokaiva behavior in the crisis situation, and camp records had some objective data to the extent that people broke the law, entered hospital with wounds, or otherwise came under official purview. In addition to the "sense of guilt" already mentioned, there was said to be considerable "anxiety," "irritability," "excitability," and "quarreling." The legal record shows several sharp clashes where injuries were inflicted, wife-beatings, and other kinds of quick tempered violence. Under extreme provocation, it was said that they might "throw hysterical fits." An obvious source of early tension came from not knowing the fate of missing clansmen. Officials denied knowledge of any significant mental derangements beyond the scattering of instances known previously.

The Oro Bay camp inhabitants appeared to be under by far the most stress and strain. Here, out of sight of the

9. Williams, after referring to the rich Lamington slopes, says: "A somewhat discouraging contrast is found in the forests of the plain proper, which are sometimes gloomy and waterlogged . . . and of wholly inferior quality" (*Orokaiva Society*, p. 12).

731 liberately endeavored to keep everyone busy, and the men
659 spent much of the time in work gangs (e.g. Monday, Tues-
361 day and Wednesday were usually devoted to house-building;
199 Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday to gardens; Friday to roads and hygiene). But leadership and organization were creatures of Government, and to some extent of Mission. There were no significant signs of a self-motivated superstructure taking form other than the strengthening of scattered clan ties. Consequently, should larger communities be established with the purpose of preventing the people from scattering out again, they would have to be bureaucratically or theocratically controlled with all the dubious consequences such a situation can entail.

731 2. Reasonable law and order was being maintained in the
659 new settlements, under the eye of a considerable force of
578 the Papuan Constabulary sent in for the emergency. Oppo-
[625] nents of a concentration policy claimed, however, that the older patterns of intergroup hostility and violence are not far enough below the surface to justify the risks involved in larger long-term aggregation. As indicated, problems of land tenure are a major potential source of conflict. Another is "woman trouble," judging from experience in the camps where husbands and wives find themselves in informal association with members of the opposite sex, in contrast to the normal tightly structured small units.

731 3. Not least among the uncertain factors is that of sorcery.
754 According to those who manage the settlements, fear of
514 coming under the influence of strangers who practice sorcery shows itself as a vague but persistent factor. Most overtly it has emerged in connection with the disposal of waste products in the large camps. In typical Papuan fashion the Orokaiva is extremely secretive in his disposal of faeces and other leavings of his body because of the possibility of their use against him in harmful magic. A crucial question, therefore, has been whether group toilets could provide enough anonymity to forestall opportunities for the practice of sorcery. The problem was dealt with where possible by putting men's and women's latrines over running water. This social-supernatural sanitation problem could be serious where long term settlement of large groups is being planned.

731 4. On the economic side, no sound basis seems in sight
361 for establishing large permanent communities in the com-
241 prehensive manner proposed. As indicated, the familiar pattern of shifting gardens will normally involve seasonal movement outward from the immediate environs of the new settlements where most present cultivations are now being made. As yet, no widespread disposition exists to adopt more
[242] intensive sedentary cultivation, although undoubtedly some will be prepared to try to continue cooperative experiments with rice and other crops and, hence, will be amenable to Government and Mission encouragement and aid here. As
731 in socio-political affairs, the responsible organization and
659 leadership would in general have to be provided from out-
[241] side, with the dependence relationship that this implies.
[199] Government might have to continue helping any large community for an indefinite period, as with the mechanized
731 agricultural production it is introducing at the Ilimo camp.
231 In large settlements the technique of handling domestic pigs and chickens, vital sources of protein, is always a difficult

24: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1973) 1977
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829 felt toward the exchange partner, fear of the trouble he might
511 cause, instrumental benefits he has to offer, the importance of the partner in the total exchange network, and so on.

[578 Anger, in this Orokaiva philosophy, is a normal attitude toward a partner with whom one stands, for the time being, in a relation of negative reciprocity. An exchange of injuries takes place until
731 peace is made by the offer of an appropriate gift and feast. The
784 anger of Sumbiripa does not completely fall into this pattern be-
776 cause here the exchange relationship is somewhat limited in scope. Sumbiripa's gift to man is the safe confinement of the dead, whereas man's gift is merely the avoidance of any disturbance of Sumbiripa's mountain. Man mediates the relationship by sending his dead to Sumbiripa; Sumbiripa mediates it by emitting his usually innocuous rumbling. Before 1951, Sumbiripa was not known by Orokaiva to have ever erupted. Hunting on the mountain and similar infractions were believed to have broken the exchange relationship and thus aroused Sumbiripa to a just reprisal.

Sumbiripa's anger was righteous not only because he was a god.
829 In the framework of Orokaiva thought, serious anger is normally
578 regarded as righteous, at least among persons standing in a regu-
754 lar exchange relationship. If anger expresses itself in verbal abuse or physical violence it is not serious, but it becomes so if misfortunes occur because of sorcery imputed to the person who is wronged. The successful magical expression of anger proves that anger to be well founded. A man may of course decide to use countermagic, and if that works the anger is no longer serious. If countermagic does not work, a man must be ready to acknowledge his fault and make reparations.

829 In such a dispute it is of course relevant which side has broken a
578 rule, but the rules are most often debatable. In the end nothing is considered worse than to have made another person seriously angry. Prudence demands that seriously angry persons should be mollified, unless their kinship and physical distance is such that they can be defined as enemies. But even between enemies, a time comes when anger is shown by magical and other misfortunes to become inexpedient.

829 Self-accusation and self-inflicted injury are a regular part of
627 this system. In order to make peace a person must define himself as the transgressor (Schwimmer 1970a, n.d.), as the Papuans did in the 'anger of God' explanation. Self-injury is a regular strategic